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Selections.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE—SLAVERY IN OREGON—SPEECHES OF MESSRS. DIX AND CALHOUN.

On the 26th ult. the Oregon bill, which had been reported some days previously in the Senate, to provide for the establishment of a territorial Government in Oregon, was called up, the question being on the following amendment of Mr. Davis (of Miss.):—

Provided, That nothing contained in this act shall be so constructed as to authorize the prohibition of domestic Slavery in said territory, whilst it remains in the condition of a territory of the United States.

We copy from the *Herald* a report of the speech of Mr. Dix of this State, delivered on the 26th, and that of Mr. Calhoun, in reply, on the 27th ultimo.

Mr. Dix proceeded to address the Senate on the 12th section, which embodies the Wilmot Proviso, and upon the several amendments proposed. He proceeded to argue the power of Congress, including the question of Slavery, over the territories of the United States, as follows:—He began by saying that he had abstained from all participation in the discussion which had taken place on propositions repeatedly brought before the Senate, involving the question of Slavery, because he considered them as abstract propositions having no practical bearing or effect. The measure before us was of a totally different character. It was a project of a law, with provisions to be enforced, and to control the inhabitants of a district of country more than two hundred thousand square miles in extent. It was eminently a practical question. It concerned not only the authority of Congress to legislate for the territories of the United States, but it might affect for an indefinite time the political and social condition of the future millions who have to cover the hills and fill the valleys of Oregon. And it was due to the magnitude of the subject, that it should be discussed with calmness, and without asperity of feeling or language. In the course of the debate on this bill and other kindred topics, various propositions had been suggested, and defended with signal ability. One asserted the right of the citizens of a State to go into any territory belonging to the United States, and carry with them whatever is recognised as property by the local authority of such State; another assumed an inherent right in the inhabitants of a territory to regulate their own domestic concerns for themselves, without being overruled by the supreme political power to which they are subordinate. He believed there was a question which lies beyond all these propositions, and which, if it can be satisfactorily answered, must be decisive of them all, because it includes them. Has Congress power under the Constitution to regulate the political and domestic concerns of the persons occupying the public domain, while they are acquiring the requisites usually exacted as condition of their admission into the Union? He believed the affirmative of this question, to the unlimited extent in which he stated it, could be satisfactorily sustained. 1st, by cotemporaneous exposition: 2nd. by judicial interpretation; and, 3rd, by the whole practice of the Government, from its foundation to the present day. Mr. Dix then proceeded to support these positions by a variety of arguments. He placed the power of legislating for the territories on that clause of the Constitution which authorized Congress to make all needful rules and regulations concerning the territory and other property belonging to the United States. He reviewed the history of the clause in the Federal Constitution, and quoted the 38th and 43d numbers of the *Federalist*, to show Mr. Madison's construction of it after it was engrafted upon the Constitution; and also the declaration of Mr. M. in the House of Representatives, in 1790, that Congress had power to legislate on the subject of Slavery in the territories of the United States. Mr. D. then commenced a review of the acts of Congress in respect to the concerns of the territories, commencing with the first Congress, and running, with a current of authority uninterrupted, and almost unopposed, through more than half a century, to the present day. Mr. D. then quoted various decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, sustaining the same interpretation. No system of rules, he said, would be safe, if their authority could be disputed and overturned in the face of such comprehensive and long-continued sanctions. Government, law, social and political order—all would be unstable and worthless, if their foundations could be sapped and undermined by logical subtlety and refinement—by new versions of the Constitution at war with its ancient interpretation, and running counter to the whole course of the public administration, from the earliest periods of time. Here Mr. D. said he dismissed the question of power. If he had succeeded in maintaining the affirmative, something, nevertheless, remained to be said. A power might be possessed, and yet it might not be right to exact it. Its exercise must be justified by considerations of public or private advantage. It must not be worth public or private wrong. He would say nothing, in this case, about private interests. There was no proposition to interfere with Slavery, where it existed—no proposition to restrict the exercise of private or personal rights within the sphere of the local laws under which they arise. It was a question of allowing Slaves to be carried into Oregon, or of prohibiting their introduction. He regarded this as a question of extending Slavery, and as such he should treat it. Those who oppose the extension of Slavery, believe such extension tends to the multiplication of Slaves. On the contrary, it is contended that such extension does not increase their numbers, but merely spreads them over a broader field. He believed this last proposition utterly inconsistent with all the received laws of population. The tendency of the human race was to increase in a compound ratio of the extent and productiveness of the surface on which it is sustained. He entered into an elaborate argument to prove this. He referred to Missouri, almost wholly North of 36 deg. 30 min., where Slavery had rapidly increased. He said, extension in point of surface was multiplication in point of numbers. The two propositions were inseparable, both in reasoning and practice. In this point of view the extension of Slavery, and especially to territories, in which it did not exist, was a reproduction of the original responsibility of introducing it; and as such, it had a moral bearing, to which the greatmass of the community could not be indifferent. Mr. D. then glanced at the rapid extension of our own people, and to the large and constantly increasing addition to our numbers from abroad. He said there was nothing inthe history of society so calculated to exalt as the spectacle we present—receiving into the bonds of friendship and admitting to the rights of citizenship emigrants from the over-peopled and over-governed countries of the old world. This growth, from causes internal and external, must give us, at the close of the present century, a hundred millions of inhabitants. Of what race or races was this vast population to consist? This was one of the most important problems that could be presented for the American statesman and philosopher—for on the solution of this problem must depend the prosperity of the community or communities they will constitute, and their ability to maintain such a form of Government as will secure to them the blessings of political liberty and an advanced civilization. He believed that the black population of the North did not increase. He doubted whether they were fully reproduced; they must always be a degraded race, let the liberal and the humane do what they will. Was it the part of wisdom or humanity to increase or extend such a race? What was our true policy and duty? We would not seek to divert the current of immigration from abroad. Every dictate of humanity would repel and condemn it. It was in the vast and fertile spaces of the West the oppressed and needy multitudes of the Old World must find the food they require, and the rewards for labour necessary to give them the spirit and independence of freemen. He held it to be our sacred duty to devote these spaces to the multiplication of the white race, and to discourage the multiplication of every other. No man could hesitate to say whether the condition of the country in all that concerns its Government, civilization, strength, prosperity or productiveness, would be most likely to be promoted by peopling it with the race from which we are sprung, or with the descendants of the Ethiop and the Caffre. We of the North had a deep interest in this question, and we could never consent, by any act, by inaction, by acquiescence expressed or implied, to the extension of Slavery to territory in which it does not exist. He believed this a practical question, that slaves would be carried to Oregon, if they were permitted to be carried there. The climate was totally different from this. It was far milder. Besides, the prohibition in the laws of Oregon was adopted for the express purpose of keeping slaves out. A few had been carried there. More were expected. And this prohibition was made to exclude them. Shall we repeal this prohibition? Shall we refuse to extend to Oregon an exemption the inhabitants asked for themselves? Shall we, by our decision solemnly pronounced here, declare that slaves may be introduced against the wishes of the inhabitants? This was the question presented to us—a question of forcing Slavery upon Oregon, against her own prohibition. Mr. Dix then reviewed the provisions of the 12th section, which the Senator from N. C. (Mr. Berrien) had moved to strike out, and he said, though this section excluded Slavery by sanctioning the prohibition of the laws of Oregon, he preferred the ordinance of 1787, and at the proper time he intended to move it, or an amendment equivalent to it. He then reiterated the positions he had taken on the three million bill more than a year ago, which, he said, he should maintain with the firmness which ought always to accompany settled convictions of right and duty; and he concluded as follows:—"I conclude by saying, for the State of New York, as I feel authorized to say, by her legislative resolutions, that while she will maintain all the compromises of the Constitution, and while she will oppose, as unauthorized and disorganizing, all interference with Slavery in the States, she will never consent to its extension to territories where it does not exist, or where it is prohibited. On the contrary, she will oppose all such extension, by all Constitutional means, as of evil tendency in Government, wrong in itself, and repugnant to the humanity and the civilization of the age."

MR. CALHOUN'S SPEECH.

Mr. Calhoun said:—

Mr. President the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States stand on very unequal grounds in regard to the question under consideration. The former ask for no laws, no privilege but they are willing to concede to the latter; they ask for nothing but that they may be permitted to remain on that equality with their sisters of the confederacy which was established by the Constitution, while the non-slaveholding States ask for the enactment of such laws as will give them a monopoly of the territory belonging to the Union, and which will have the effect of excluding the people of the Southern States. Mr. President, I will not ask from the North anything I will not yield from the South; nor will I yield anything from the South which would not be yielded by the North. I wish, sir, to argue this question dispassionately, and not upon party grounds. I shall direct my observation to ascertain the rights and maintain the rights of all parties as the only way to put an end to this dangerous question. The Constitution is to decide, and, on constitutional grounds alone, I will look at it. With these prelimenary remarks, Mr. President, I come to the question: have the non-slaveholding States the power to put down Slavery in the slaveholding States? You find no such power in the Constitution itself. There you find all States are common in rights; there is no disparity; so all writers declare, so all usages prove. Can the fact that there is a slaveholding population among us affect this question or our rights? The slave population was as nearly equal as it is now, and that it is the only description of property recognized by the Constitution, strengthens the assumption that the Constitution never intended that inequality should exist; and, here, too, we find that the framers of the Constitution never intended there should be a discrimination between these portions of the Union and any other portions. Mr, President, if the power then exists at all, it must be found in the Constitutional compacts; and if it exists not there, the power exists not at all, unless you can show a positively acknowledged power in the Constitution upon this broad basis. I ask now, where is the power to be found belonging to Congress of admitting into territories of the Union oneportion of the people and their property, and one excluding another? It cannot be found. It does not exist.—I contend that the Constitution clause giving power to Congress to dispose of, and make all needful regulations respecting the territories of the United States, does not refer to the government of such territories, but simply to the disposition or care of said territories. As to the public lands of the Union not a word is said about population. The power to Congress in the exclusive legislation over this district and other places occupied in the States for Dock Yards, &c., strengthens this construction of the clause, respecting the territories; and though Congress has exclusive legislation over this district the sovereignty remains in Maryland entire, and without the assent of Maryland, Slavery cannot be Constitutionally abolished in this district. Having thus shown that Congress has no Constitutional power over the question of Slavery in the territory, the whole chain of authorities cited yesterday by the Senator from New New York (Mr. Dix,) from the basis upon which they are erected must fall.

Mr. C. then gave a history of the ordinance of 1787:—Virginia ceded the northwest territory in 1784. and Mr. C. cited the attempts of every succeeding year to introduce as a fundamental law of this territory this principle of the proviso. They were all defended till 1787, when a compromise was agreed to, the South assenting to the exclusion of Slavery, and the North agreeing to restore all fugitive slaves when arrested within their borders.—It was a compromise, there was no commitment by the South on the abstract question of the power of Congress over the compromise: it was a compromise agreed upon before the adoption of the Constitution, and under the last days of the old confederation, at a time when it was hardly *compos mentis*. It could not be quoted as a power of the Constitution; the South faithfully adhered to this ordinance. They have acquiesced in the admission of all the non-slaveholding States, carved out of the Northwest territory under the terms of the ordinance. I am sorry to say that the North have not faithfully kept their part of the compromise. Instead of restoring our slaves all these Northwestern States, except Illinois and Wisconsin, have passed laws against the restoration of fugitive slaves. The Northwest have done more—they have given countenance to organized companies, and permitted them to pilfer our slaves, and run them off to Canada.

Mr. *Hannegan*—Will the Senator refer to any law of Indiana?

Mr. *Calhoun*—I gather my facts from the report of my colleague on this subject; nearly all the States North and Northwest, have passed laws against the restoration of fugitives slaves.

Mr. *Hannegan*—Indiana has passed no such law.

Mr. *Butler* explained that Indiana and Michigan were exceptions.

Mr. *Hannegan*—Indiana assuredly is.

Mr. *Calhoun*—I am glad to hear it, I should be happy to hear there were no organized companies for running off slaves in Ohio, and other States.

Mr. *Corwin*—Does the Senator say there are incorporated companies of this sort in Ohio?

Mr. *Calhoun*—Oh, no; I said organized companies.

Mr. *Butler*—And if the Senator from Ohio wants evidence of this fact, I can procure it. We have the proofs.

Mr. *Calhoun* resumed—The South had acquiesced to the federal ordinance. They have not acquiesced to the other side.

Mr. C., then defended Mr. Jefferson in his position on this question. He had the same apprehensions of this abolition which we now entertain. In a letter to Mr. Adams in 1819, he says "he feels no uneasiness in respect to bank or bankrupt laws, or manufactories, or treaties; all these are billows that will pass under the ship; but the Missouri question is greater; on that bar the vessel of State may be stranded and foundered." This was in 1819. in 1820 the compromise came up.

Here Mr. C. had a letter read from Jefferson to John Holmes, dated April 27, 1820, in which this Missouri question is compared to "a fire bell in the night, filling the mind with terror, sounding like a knell of the Union, and as the question which cannot be obliterated. We have the wolf by the ears and can neither hold him or let him go." &c. Such were the prophetic fears of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. President, mark those prophetic words, mark the profound reasoning upon which it is founded, mark the prophetic and melancholy impression which it made upon his mind. Sir, there is evidence of great foresight, deep patriotism, and profound melancholy; and yet the date of Jefferson is used to organize sectional differences on this very question. He is not without blame; he made a great error in moving that short proposition to the first ordinance on the Government. In consequence, however, in my opinion of the state of the times, and which I may explain in the course of my remarks, having shown there is no power in the Government, and the Missouri compromise and all other compromises fall to the ground, I come to the question—has Congress any power to legislate? Sir, it would be foolish and ideal to deny its power, while we are legislating here for the establishment of a territory, when a session uses up and moves to lay the bill on the table. Yes, sir, Congress has power, and the only question is, first, for whom it is done, and secondly. what is its honour? Judge Marshall states that the power applies to that of acquiring territory; and I am more thoroughly confirmed in this view, because, long before I was aware of Judge Marshall's opinion, I entertained the same opinion. If you acquire territory, you do so for some purpose; you acquire, to occupy, to possess, to use and control; to govern—and if not this power would be the most absurd and ridiculous thing in the world. I agree with the Senator from New York to-day, that we have the right to acquire territory. It belongs to the war-making power; but, sir, if there be any gentleman who differs from me, I have not a word to say. I regard the agency as of no importance; let it be what it may, it does not exist as an absolute power. I recognise it as the sole power; but that is a very different thing from despotic power. All despotic powers are absolute; but it does not follow that all powers are absolute. Sir, we are forbidden by the Constitution to grant patents of nobility. Can we do that in territories? We are permitted, except in case of war, to suspend the habeas corpus act. Can we do so in territories? All these are limitations, and being so, show that the power of Congress is not absolute. But this is not all. We are the trustees of the people, we are the mere representatives to administer the territories for the benefit of all. We are merely invested with a trust power. We have no absolute power over the question. I appeal to all able lawyers on this floor, if trust power is not limited to keeping for the trustees to whom the property belongs. Now, sir, I ask to whom the property belongs? To the people of the United States? Have you a right, as security trust, to make a discrimination between one class of citizens and another? Have you a right to exclude one portion of citizens because they have slave property, by excluding their property? No, sir, you have not. There are two other propositions which have been presented, if not here, elsewhere. It has been said that territories have the right to establish their own laws in this respect. Well, sir, we must be either bound by a Constitution or by some other power. If the former, there all the arguments fall to the ground. If the latter, there, sir, the territories instead of being the territories of the United States, become the territories of the people occupying them, the very first half dozen or more of squatters who divest you of your territories. You conquer a territory of Mexico; and the inhabitants of it, the Mexicans, become the owners of it, and not you, according to this most absurd idea. The Protestant religion cannot enter Mexico until we have a law to allow it; for the Mexican laws prohibit it. Would our people respect such a law? No, sir, it is absurd. Well, sir, will you say that our cattle and citizens cannot go to California, until you have a law passed to repeal their law, for their law prohibits it, and a law against Slavery is just as absurd as these? Mr. President, I have now stated all the points I intend to put; and I have stated enough, I think; I may say I have made out my case, that no power exists which can prohibit any portion of the citizens from equal rights, but if sophistry could make this appear to be constitutional, it is not sufficient; you possess power to exercise it; you must show us your case, justly and rightly to do so. The Constitution may give you power, but the next question is, can you rightfully and justly do so? Sir, I put the question solemnly to the non-slaveholding States, for I wish to do so in all solemnity—can they justly and rightfully do so? We are partners rightfully, we have given our share of the common fund for the common good, and can you justly and rightfully exclude us? If you exclude us, you must approve of the principle that in a partnership of common rights the stronger party can rightfully exclude the weaker from an equal share. But I come now to the question—how was the territory acquired? I think that we acquired it in consequence of the purchase of Louisiana. From our purchases from Spain next: by the discoveries of Lewis and Clark; and next in the Jefferson negotiations. Louisiana cost us fifteen million; Florida five million—coming out of a common fund. The explorations under Lewis and Clark were paid for out of a common fund—so that under every aspect, we are full contributors to all. Now, sir, would it be proper under all these aspects, to deprive us of equal rights? Would you do it in private life? And why, if you would not to thirty men, should you do it to thirty States? Well, I come to California and New Mexico. Have the slaveholding States had an equal share in the war? In both ways fortune was so that a larger portion of military renown would fall to the share of the South than the North. Well, shall territory thus acquired be exclusively the property of a party? Sir, these are questions to the hearts, not the heads. If a man decides them wrong, it is a proof of malformation; of deep seated prejudice. Now, sir, I ask my fellow-citizens from non-slaveholding States, what are you prepared to do? Are you prepared to put at defiance all rights and justice? If so vote against the amendment of my friend from Mississippi, Mr. J. Davis. If that wont do, vote in favour of the twelfth section, and we shall know what is intended. If not, put us on your ground, where we can stand up and say we are equal. We are here on common terms. Now, sir, I turn to my friends on slaveholding. What are you to do, if neither the Constitution or justice will protect you? Are you prepared to sink down and acknowledge the justice of these acts? Sirs, if that be the case, you have woefully degenerated from your sires. If you will not, and the other side declines to do justice, what a spectacle will be exhibited? If I have wished to push these questions now, on the eve of the Presidental election, it is because I saw it was the only time when a reflection of the great events could be attracted. Well, Mr. President, this brings us to the great question. How is this to be settled? the question can never be effectually settled, but by leaving it to the Constitution. Let not the North say, if left to itself, the Constitution will be excluded; for that is, in my opinion, a great error: for I give it as my opinion that Slave territory would, on an average, not exceed 36 at one time; may be a little North; sometime South; but that makes no difference; for danger lies in a straight line. Leave it to circumstances, and I tell my friends from the North, that there never was a greater mistake than to suppose that slave labour excluded all other. For all classes of labourers, except two, there is no place where labour is so elevated as in the South. A Southern man will not become either a body or a house servant. Sir, there is not a labouring white man about me, who will not insist upon sitting at my table, and I am proud it is so. Does such a state exist in the North? I am proud it does exist in the South; and I hope never to see the day when any Southern man will permit a white man to brush his hat or clean his boots. The sooner this question is settled the better for all. The sooner it reaches a certain point the better; and I solemnly believe, that we are now near that point. Mr. President, if this Union is to share the fate of so many Governments that have gone before us; if it is doomed to fall, the historian who records the event, will devote his first chapter to the ordinance of 1787. That will be set down as the origin of the deed of separation. His next chapter will be devoted to the Missouri compromise, and the next to the proviso of the present time. Whether there will be a chapter beyond this, we cannot tell. If the historian be of a philosophic turn of mind, looking into remote and recondite causes, he will use the disaster to a proposition which is now understood as a most dangerous and fatal error, but which was orignally a truism. This fatal error is the universal idea that all men are born free and equal. Now, sir, I propose to examine this, and I am not afraid to meet the strong prejudices in its favour. There is not a word of truth in the proposition, as commonly understood, all men are born. No, sir, men are not born; infants are born, and they grow to be men. (Laughter.) They are born free and equal; not so—they are born subject to their parents and guardians; and so they continue till they grow up to the free gentleman. May I ask if this is not the language of the Declaration of Independence? No such thing; that Declaration, in more simple terms, says all men are created equal; but this is equally erroneous. According to the Scriptures, only two of the human race were created—one man and one woman. (General laughter all round, the idea universally suggesting itself that the rest were propagated.) Mr. C., unmoved, went on. We may trace this error of equality to Locke and Sydney. They claim that all men in a state of nature are equal. This is a truism; but it is of no great value. It is only hypothetically true; what is it? There are states and conditions of man. In the first, man lives as an individual, and partly independent of his fellow man. This is called a state of nature. In that state he is free, and every man is a sovereign: but it is a misnomer to say they are all equal. The next is the social state. The philosopher in this, will trace out all the rights belonging to both conditions; but equality is still further removed than in the first. The political, blending the two, is the only state adapted to the wants, the progress, and the development of the powers of man. His social state cannot exist without sovereignity: hence the necessity of Government. In his state of nature, man cannot exist at all; yet it is strange that the state in which man never did exist and never can exist, should be called the natural state; while the only state in which he can exist, should be called the artificial. This is the great misnomer. This only natural state is that in which he best exists with this false doctrine—that all men are born equal. Then comes up the idea in the mind that these natural rights are the highest rights; that the rights of individuals are higher than those of society, and then society rests upon a false basis until those imaginary individual rights are restored. This is all false. Political rights are the highest of all rights of the individual—but supplemental to the rights of the community. No man is entitled to any natural rights at the expense of the community. We may make some important deduction from this. The rights of the individual are ceded to, or taken by the Government, according to necessity; but Government has no right to substract more from the individual than is necessary for the general organization; hence the great distinction in Governments, of which the people are ignorant; and in a wild state, it is necessary that Government should have an immense power to prevent the evils of anarchy. As we ascend in the scale of intelligence, we come, at length, to that point where every man possesses the knowledge, and the readiness to act under mutual concessions; and as we approach it, we find that Government relaxes more and more in the liberties of the individual, and less and less exercises the supreme power of its original condition. Instead, therefore, of all men being created equal, or all men being equally free, there is of necessity, the greatest disparity. What then becomes of the error that all men are created equal, or that they are born free and equal? It vanishes. Yet to this error we may trace every struggle against Government for individual rights, however just, or however fallacious. This error is the very organ of abolitionism and its dangerous offspring. It is this error which threatens to give to the revolutions, which it has excited in Europe, a tendency to anarchy and all its confusion. This error of equality is all powerful to pull down, but impotent to build up. It can destroy fast enough, but it cannot reproduce. It is an error under which, unless detected and discarded, all Europe and all Christendom may fall into hopeless anarchy, as the first result to be terminated in military despotism. Mr. C. sat down, and the spectators, with a number of approbations, retired.

We find in the Herald a very full, and apparently very accurate report of a speech of John Van Buren at Genesee on the 20th ultimo, which we copy. Many of our readers, especially in this State, have, we doubt not, some curiosity to know precisely how this distinguished champion and leader of the new party bears himself, and how he sets forth its claims to support. The Speech is well worth reading notwithstanding its length, and we copy it entire, though some portions of it are characterised rather by opposition to the Old Hunkers, than to Slavery.

SPEECH OF JOHN VAN BUREN.

Delivered at Genesee, Livingston County, June 20, 1848.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—A Convention of the Democrats of this county, having invited me to address you here to-day, it gives me great pleasure to comply with their request. A presidential election is about approaching, and the electors of this State will shortly be called upon to discharge the responsible trust, so far as devolves upon them, of elevating to the chief magistracy of twenty millions of free people, one of the citizens of this Republic. The great question which now agitates the public mind in connection with this duty is, whether Slavery shall be extended to territories of the United States that are now free. Thomas Jefferson in drawing the Declaration of Independence in '76, and in enumerating the oppressions practised upon the Colonies by the King of Great Britain, charges him with having waged a cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people who never offended him. "This piratical waifare, (he said,) the opprobrium of Infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep up a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing any legislative attempt to restrain this execrable traffic." The language thus employed in regard to the slave trade, was not stronger than was used at that day, by the same distinguished man, as well as by George Washington, Patrick Henry, James Madison, James Monroe, George Mason, and the other slaveholding patriots of the Revolution, in speaking of domestic Slavery itself; with the single exception that the foreign slave trade was an evil which our forefathers had it in their power promptly to suppress, and were therefore, responsible for the continuance of it whilst domestic slavery was a condition forced upon us by the mother country, for which we were not responsible, and which required time, humanity and philanthropy to ameliorate and extinguish. Those who declared and established our independence, like those patriots who recently overturned the French monarchy, knew and felt that the basis of true freedom was the equality of man; and to bring about this happy result consistently with the condition of the country, they adopted the following policy. In regard to the States where Slavery existed, it was left to the wisdom and humanity of the State Government to escape from the evil. The unsettled territory north and west of the Ohio, out of which it was contemplated that future States would be formed, belonged to Virginia. This territory was ceded to the United States immediately at the close of the revolution. Jefferson was one of the grantors in the deed of cession; the following year he introduced an ordinance (cheers) by which it was declared, that after 1800, Slavery, or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment of crime, should never exist in such territory, or in the States to be formed out of it. Three years afterwards an ordinance was passed, by which Slavery was immediately and forever prohibited in said territory. This ordinance passed the Congress of the Confederation unanimously, and was sent to Virginia to be ratified by the Legislature of that State; it was so ratified almost unanimously. The framers of the Constitution, at the same time and place, authorized Congress after 1808 to prohibit the foreign slave trade. This delay of twenty years in a work of humanity and justice was a concession wrung from the patriots of Virginia and of the North, by the obstinacy of South Carolina and Georgia, which States, by their delegates in that Convention, refused to come into the Union unless the concession was made. The first Congress under the new Constitution in 1789, to remove all doubts of the validity of the ordinance of 1787, ratified it by a legislative act. Edward Coles, a most estimable and intelligent citizen of Philadelphia—a member of one of the strongest and most influential families of Virginia, private secretary to Mr. Madison during his presidency, and formerly Governor of the State of Illinois—informs me that the ordinance of 1787 actually emancipated a large number of slaves, who, at the time of its passage, were found in the territory now composing the State of Illinois. So early as 1796, St. George Tucker, one of the ablest men in Virginia, published a plan for the abolition of Slavery in that State; and in enforcing the propriety of such abolition he described Slavery as an evil a thousand times greater than all the others which Great Britain had subjected us to, and one from which Virginia should be saved, or her physical and moral prostration must be inevitable. This glance at the early history of our country, and at the action of the patriots of the revolution, satisfies me that the framers of the Constitution regarded Slavery as a moral, social, and political curse; that one great object of the revolution was to escape from it, and that they intended to make and did make a Government, in which Congress should have power to prohibit and abolish Slavery in all the territories of the United States; that they intended to form and did form a Union, into which no more slave States should ever come, and the members of which, should, in good faith, proceed as rapidly as possible to rid themselves of this withering blight, and rescue their associates from the reproach and disgrace which its existence brought upon the association and its name. The policy of the country, from the revolution till recently, with the exception of the admission of Texas, Louisiana and Florida, in all of which, in my judgment Slavery ought to have been prohibited, (cheers) confirms me in this belief. Out of the Northwestern territory, ceded by Virginia, have beeen formed the States of Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan. These five States contain a population of between four and five millions, and almost exhaustless physical resources. They were formed out of a part of the State of Virginia, and how remarkably does the condition of Virginia, when contrasted with theirs, illustrate the effect of the Jeffersonian policy. She stands still, or retrogrades, whilst any one of them with its boundless energy, resistless progress, and rapidly increasing population, either now exceeds or obviously soon will outgrow the State from which it sprung. Who can look at those five lusty children, and can even believe that they have ever sprung from such an exhausted mother; exhausted too, not in giving birth to, or in nursing her children, but exhausted in lying still and looking at them grow up, after they were born and weaned. It is as difficult to believe that such a mother should have such children, as that the great apostle of liberty—Thomas Jefferson—should have such a refugee for a disciple as Thomas Ritchie. (Laughter and cheers.)—The policy which has produced these great results was not only introduced into Virginia and brought into successful operation upon Virginia soil, but until very recently, it has secured the unanimous and hearty assent of the people of every section of the United States. When Louisiana was purchased, Slavery existed in that State, and its continuance was guaranteed by the treaty of cession. At the time of the Missouri compromise. Congress abolished Slavery in all the territory of Louisiana, north of 36 30. So late as 1838, the territory of Iowa was organized out of this northern portion of Louisiana, and in the act for its organization Slavery was prohibited in said territory. This was the latest exercise of a power in Congress which has been exercised since the foundation of the Government, and which was never, until recently, denied. The territory of Oregon is now without a Government, and its people have been petitioning Congress for this protection. New Mexico and California have been conquered from Mexico; the President declares that they are ours, never to be surrendered, and he recommends Congress to organize a Territorial Government over them. These imperative duties remain unexecuted in Congress, in consequence of the determination of citizens of the South that the territorial acts shall not be so framed as to preserve the law of freedom, which is now the condition of Oregon, New Mexico, and California. They deny to Congress power to uphold freedom in the face of the repeated instances in which Congress, by the aid and under the lead of Southern men, has abolished Slavery in territories ceded by a slave State. They claim a right to go into a free country, under the flag of the United States, and behind the arms of our troops, to overthrow freedom and plant Slavery there; they not only claim this right, but they deny to their political associates or both parties the right to entertain a different opinion. Important as this question is, the Democrats of New-York have steadily refused to make it a test of illegibility to office; they refused to do so at Syracuse—at Herkimer—in their legislative addresses, and finally at Utica, in selecting delegates to the National Convention.—Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Florida, on the other hand, have resolved that they will, under no political necessity whatever, support a candidate for President and Vice President, who does not entertain their faith in regard to Slavery. Their delegates have come to Baltimore, and refused to associate with those who do not entertain this belief; that the Utica delegates were rejected from the Baltimore meeting on this ground, I have no doubt. Either the Utica delegates or the Albany delegates must have been regular; but one set should have been admitted; the first duty of any delegated body is to determine who are its legitimate members; if two sets can be admitted this year twenty can be next. New York can overwhelm any delegated convention; the Utica delegates were rejected or neutralized because they advocated the perpetuation of freedom in free territory. The delegates from other States to Baltimore must have had sense enough to know how to examine and decide a simple question of regularity; if they had not, when they discovered their incapacity to discharge the first and simplest duty of a delegated body, they should have inferred their incapacity to do anything, and adjourned. (Laughter.) In a peaceable city like Baltimore, it seems to me that if the assemblage had been thus converted into a mob, and had neglected to adjourn, some magistrate would have read the riot act and dispersed them. I infer, therefore, that they wilfully and designedly neutralized the voice of New York, because that voice was for freedom. The separate organization in this State, has been formed upon that question; it was on this ground that a minority of Democrats seceded from the democratic caucus, and adopted a minority address; on the same ground they departed from a usage of twenty-five years, and organized a separate party at Albany, and sent independent delegates from Congressional districts to Baltimore. The origin of this independent organization was a determination to sacrifice Silas Wright—a plan to be effected by a union between traitors in the State and Presidential aspirants backed by the slave interest out of the State—a combination of office seekers and slaveholders, who saw in Silas Wright the cheif obstacle to their advancement; and the *Albany Argus* was most appropriately selected to form this combination and to announce, the plan of the campaign. On the 27th of August last, Mr. Croswell, thus disclosed the progress of the conspiracy. Mr. Van Buren read the following extract from the *Argus* of that date:—

THE WILMOT PROVISO—ITS ORIGIN AND OBJECT.

"It will be recollected that the Wilmot proviso, so called, was reproduced from our own State, immediately on the opening of the last session of Congress. It was ushered in by a prominent member from this State, high in the confidence, and intimate in the association of another distinguished citizen, then at Albany, who is regarded as a candidate for the Presidential office, and it followed directly a full consultation at Albany. It was thrown in before Congress could by possibility act upon the ten regiment army bill—indispensable to the prosecution of the war; and was intended to act directly upon the three million bill—supposed to be material as a measure of peace. Such was its origin, and ostensible object.

"If the farther design was to create a Northern party, and to advance the Presidential prospects of a Northern Democratic candidate, nothing could have been more mistaken. It might create a Northern party—it might renew and embitter a feeling of hostility between the two great, but not necessarily antagonist, sections of the Union; but it could not advance the prospects of any Northern Democrat for the high station to which any such politician might aspire. It might add to the actual Whig strength—and might afford 'aid and comfort' to the partizans of that faith;—But it could only waken and paralyze the Democracy of the South. A Northern candidate, standing through his friends and adherents upon this sectional ground, could not fail to insure his own defeat. It would be as inevitable as any the most unalterable law of physics or science, or the undoubted results of cause and effect. It would be literally a political *felo de se*. Three lines will comprise the result of any such suicidal movement upon a Northern Democratic candidate. It would rally the Democracy of the South, almost to a man, against him. It would inevitably divide the Democracy of the North. He, as a Democrat, therefore, could carry neither section—but must lose both."

This base charge (continued Mr. Van Buren) against Silas Wright, of originating the proviso, with a view to his own advancement, was well known by Mr. Croswell to be in precise opposition to all the facts, and was in conformity to the invariable practice of that editor, an effort to cover his own treachery and profligacy, by charging upon Mr. Wright the very thing he was himself doing. Mr. King introduced the proviso upon his own responsibility, as he has often declared, and without consultation with Mr. Wright. Mr. Wright never desired political advancement, and never moved a finger to secure it. It was well known, however, that he was a devoted friend of freedom, and it was an inevitable inference that when he did speak he would be found where Jefferson had been found before him. Knowing this, rival aspirants for the Presidency immediately conformed to the Southern test, and a conspiracy was formed to sacrifice Mr. Wright, by uniting against him the entire South, and dividing, neutralizing and disorganizing the North, East and West, and most particularly nullifying the voice of New York. On the 27th August, Mr. Croswell declared the conspiracy sufficiently ripe to be announced, and the characteristic article which I have read to you, gentlemen, was his mode of announcing it. You will mark the date—the 27th August is the day on which Mr. Wright died.—(Great sensation in the crowd.) But the publication was made before his death was known at Albany. The blow that was thus made at a living statesman fell upon his new grave! the creature who sought to be an assassin, was, by an inscrutable dispensation of Providence, converted into a jackal.—(Sensation.) Mr. Wright did not survive to feel the effect of this disorganization of the party, and abandonment of principle; but, gentlemen, we do. The nomination of Lewis Cass, in the precise mode in which it was effected, by nullifying the voice of New York, and after compelling him to recant his opinions upon the subject of Slavery is the natural consummation of the plot which I have described. To say that the Democrats of New York are not bound by the action of the Baltimore meeting, is no more than to assert that they are not bound by the proceedings of any other meeting equally disorderly and disgraceful in which they did not participate. It seemed to be the design of this Baltimore meeting to heap contumely and insult upon the Democrats of New York. The thirty men who were allowed to neutralize the voice of the State were generally men of little or no character. Take such men as Croswell, Broderick, Clark, Brandreth; and if the intention had been to degrade the State, their admission would have effected it. Those Clarks are a remarkable family;—there are John C. Clark, Lott Clark and Orville Clark. John C. was a delegate to the Whig Convention, and as I am told, led off in support of General Taylor. He is, as horse-dealers say, when they part with a bad horse to an innocent purchaser, a politician that we spared the Whigs. (Laughter.) For myself, I should be glad to see a party large enough to contain all three of these Clarks; and I should be entirely contented if it contained nobody else. (Laughter. But so long as there are three parties, I am inclined to believe there will be a Clark in each of them. (More laughter.) I am not prepared to say that Orville Clark is inferior to the rest of the Albany delegation; take the entire batch (I say batch, because when it got to Baltimore, it kneaded like dough) it was a sorry lot, (more laughter), beginning with Croswell and ending with Brandreth. If the Democracy of New York were by the judgment of their brethren in the other States to sink under the stiletto that pierced to the heart of Silas Wright, they might at least have been attended by one of the regular faculty; it was adding unnecessary cruelty to wanton insult, to smother them with a body of which the head was an assassin, and the tail a quack. But I beg your pardon for spending any time to show that the action of this Baltimore meeting binds no body, but the meeting itself; they determined that New York should not be represented; they justify themselves by declaring that they cannot understand New York divisions; that New York must be let alone, and that they can get along without New York. We assent to all this. Having made no nomination, we are proceeding to make one; having no candidates in the field that represent our principles, we are proceeding to put such candidates there. Our regular electoral ticket will be nominated in September—our candidates on the 22d inst. The Utica organization was so far endorsed by the Baltimore meeting, that the Utica delegates were admitted. The Albany electoral ticket is pledged to Lewis Cass. It will receive the vote of every conservative in the State, and answers the excellent purpose of carrying out the views of the Baltimore meeting, and the views of the Democrats of New York at the same time. Anybody who wishes to vote for General Cass is thus afforded an opportunity; and at the same time, neither the principles, the organization, nor the ranks of the Democrats of this State, will be seriously disturbed. After years of dissension, the Conservatives have quit the Democratic ranks, and set up for themselves. The only injury that has threatened the Democracy for the past eighteen months is their return, and this evil is averted, I trust effectually, in the endorsement which they have received at Baltimore. Finding thus every promise of harmony—the Baltimore meeting having agreed to let New York alone—we agreeing to be let alone—having no longer any cause of quarrel among ourselves—the Democrats and Conservatives having distinct organizations, distinct tickets and diametrically opposite political principles. I took the liberty,

being the only step taken by me, and this being my condition personally, you may imagine my surprise when I find the editor of the Washington *Union*, at this stage of the proceedings, declaring in his paper, "we shall not be surprised by any act of violence or demagogueism which may be perpetrated by John Van Buren." This venerable harmonist was brought to Washington, through the expulsion of Francis P. Blair, to take charge of the party organ, and quell discord in the Democratic choir; and without stopping to consider his general success, it seems that in this particular instance, aside from the indecency of his conduct, he has signally failed in the task required of him. New York was to be let alone; its divisions were incomprehensible. Why, then, does Mr. Ritchie open the campaign by assailing its citizens before they open their mouths? Did he know what might be expected from every honest man in New York? —or is there anything in my career which would authorize any man who respects truth to anticipate violence and demagogueism from me? The transplanting Mr. Ritchie to Washington was the signal failure of this administration; the expulsion of Mr. Blair its grossest outrage and folly. Rip Van Winkle, who slept twenty years upon the Cattskill mountain, and, when he awoke, found his gun decayed, his family scattered, and the Government changed, was well posted in regard to recent events, compared with Thomas Ritchie now; (laughter;) and yet there is a vivacity and elasticity of spirit about him in advanced life, which is so far from pleasing to be perfectly ludicrous. For instance now, when under his auspices an overwhelming Democratic majority in the House of Representatives, has been converted into a minority, when the Democratic party of the Union has been disorganized and disbanded—when a candidate has been put in nomination in its name, who stands at a far more immeasurable distance from the Presidential chair than he described General Jackson as standing—when an entire revolution has taken place in parties, and he himself may be deemed standing on his head—you will soon hear him cry, with all his ancient sprightliness, "Skies bright, heads up! Once more!" (Immoderate laughter.) Mr. Ritchie charges me with demagogueism, which, I take it, is an insincere political profession for personal ends. If I had opposed the proclamation and force bill, and yet pretended to sustain General Jackson—if, when in debt to the State banks, I had opposed the independent treasury policy; and when an administration was elected upon it, come to Washington as its organ, and displaced an original friend of the measure—if I had deprecated the election of Andrew Jackson as a curse upon the country, and then turned in and supported him—if, in doing this, I had paid my debts to the banks, and put my money in my pocket, I might then be termed a demagogue, although then he could not apply to me, thus laden with the fruits of political inconsistency, his favourite phrase of an "empty" demagogue. I have done none of these things. I profess no faith now that I have not always entertained. I seek no personal advantage. And on the other hand, all these things, if I am correctly informed, are justly chargeable to Thomas Ritchie. But Mr. Ritchie says further, "he is too impassioned to consult 'the sober second thought' which was once so earnestly inculcated by his distinguished father." In this Mr. Ritchie has rendered his verdict before, he has heard all the evidence. If the gentleman to whom Mr. Ritchie alludes, shall see fit to favour the public with his views in regard to the conduct of the Baltimore meeting and the propriety of supporting Lewis Cass, I shall of course submit to the institution of a comparison between his "sober second thought," and my "impassioned impulses," and shall be prepared to suffer all the consequences of such a comparison. In the meantime, as I have studiously refrained heretofore from connecting in any way the gentleman referred to with controversies into which I have been forced, it would be considered good manners in New York for Mr. Ritchie to pursue the same course. Shall we then support Mr. Cass? Shall he be nominated at Utica? I think he ought not to be. First, because the disorganization of the republican party of New York, and the nullification of its voice, was effected by his friends and for his benefit. Second, because if the testimony of Mr. Rathbun is to be relied on, he has abandoned the cause of freedom and conformed himself to the Southern test on the subject of Slavery. The Democrats of New York declared in Convention, at Utica, that they would support no man who did this, and that such a candidate would inevitably encounter defeat and disgrace. They perform what they promise. Third, because he cannot possibly carry the State. You may put under him a Governor, Lieut. Governor, Congressmen and Assemblymen, and while they would be powerless to float him, he would "sink them to political perdition." Forty Democratic newspapers in New York have already denounced him, and this State gave 35,000 Whig majority last fall. It is natural enough, therefore, that but two men should ever have been heard to say that Lewis Cass could carry New York. One of these (Judge Tremaine) is an accomplished young lawyer in Green County, who by some singular mischance has strayed into the Conservative ranks. He is a county Judge, and his judicial duties have so far withdrawn him from intercourse with the people as to leave him entirely ignorant of their present views and wishes. The other is Mr. Daniel E. Sickles, of New York, who illustrates the beauties of the Congressional district system of representation. The theory of that representation is to bring the representative home to the people, and under it Mr. Sickles, of New York, was elected in Baltimore to represent Queens and Suffolk in the National Convention. The sturdy and respected Democracy of Queens and Suffolk thus enjoy the first fruits of the new system in having Mr. Sickles brought home to them. To do this it became necessary to nullify the vote of Mr. Platt Willetts, an aged and highly valued citizen of Queen's County, born and brought up, I believe, and universally beloved in that county, who, with the intention of discharging his duties as a delegate, started ten days before the meeting, and travelled the entire distance to Baltimore in his own conveyance, arriving there only to be informed that the body in which he was to act had determined that Mr. Sickles should nullify his vote, on which announcement he, of course, retired from the meeting. Mr. Sickles pledged the vote of New York to the Baltimore nominee, and it will require great activity on his part to make his representation of the feeling of the State even as faithful as his representation of Queen's and Suffolk. I do not think that Lewis Cass should be nominated by New York. I do not think he will be; and if not, I do not think he will be supported by the people of the State; nor in my judgment, will General Taylor be. The Utica Convention spoke in high terms of General Taylor as a soldier and as a man. To the declaration thus made I adhere, and if it becomes necessary, in order to defeat General Taylor, to assail him with scurrility, I shall leave that portion of the duties to the Conservative seceders who are more familiar with it, and have more occasion for its exercise. It is with his capacity to discharge the duties of the office of President of the United States, and with the propriety of his elevation to that office, that we have to do. General Taylor has never held a civil office; to select such a man for the Presidency is an untried experiment. General Harrison had been Governor of the North-Western Territory, delegate in Congress, United States Senator, and a foreign minister. General Jackson had been a United States Senator, a public prosecutor, a Judge. General Washington, although no man in this country can fairly be compared with him, had been President of the Convention to form the United States Constitution, and had familiarized himself with the necessities and interests of the American people during the war of the revolution. But General Taylor is proposed to be called to the head of this nation when it numbers 20,000,000 of people—is in the midst of a career of progress and prosperity unequalled in political history, and when it is the admiration and example of the civilized world. This is a fearful experiment. General Taylor, with the modesty and truth which I believe belongs to his character, says, in one of his letters, that he trembles when he contemplates it; and if he, a veretan soldier, who never trembled in an enemy's country, in the face of any odds, and amid carnage and death, trembles now in view of his own incapacity to enter upon these delicate and responsible duties. How then could I, a man of peace, who never saw a gun fired upon anything more dangerous than a bird, fail to be overwhelmed with apprehension, in contemplating the same result. He is entirely unacquainted with the political principles and measures which have agitated this country for sixty years, and out of which political parties, as lately organized, grew. What will he do when he enters upon the discharge of his duties no one of you knows; no voter knows—General Taylor does not know. It may be urged that he will choose a cabinet of accomplished and upright men; but by the theory of our Government, the administration is to be selected by the people, and is responsible to them. The idea of an irresponsible head and a responsible cabinet, is monarchical and kingly. But in regard to the great subject which disturbs the public mind of New York, General Taylor's position is most unfortunate; he is a Southern man and a slaveholder, who, recruiting a regiment of supporters marched from the South, upon the Convention at Philadelphia, and beseiged them long enough to learn whether he should storm the Convention, or whether they would surrender at discretion. They having to deal with a man who never surrendered, felt called upon to lay down their arms and surrender to him. To do this they had to sacrafice an aged and distinguished statesman, whom I always have and probably always shall oppose; but whose capacity, fidelity to Whig principles, and agreeable, personal, and social qualities, are universally conceded—who was, beyond all question, the choice of a majority of his political party, and who had arrived at that period of life which precluded the probability of his being, on any future occasion, a candidate for the highest office in the gift of a free people—the natural summit of political ambition, and the appropriate end of a well-spent political life. The non-availability of Mr. Clay arose from two causes. First, the determination of General Taylor to run, whether Mr. Clay was nominated or not, which ensured two Whig electoral tickets in each State. And, second, Mr. Clay's declaration in his Lexington speech, that he was opposed to the acquisition of any more territory for the purpose o planting Slavery upon it (Loud and protracted huzzas.) This declaration was fatal to him, as would have been a declaration in favour of the Wilmot Proviso. Slavery will and must have territory to expand over. The first difficulty should have been overcome by Whig organization, forcing General Taylor to conform to the will of the Convention; the second should have been made to yield to Whig principles; for so firmly was the Whig party of this State committed to the principle of preserving freedom, that I have been charged with being a Whig for supporting this principle. The Philadelphia Convention, however, surrendered both their organization and their principles, and sacrificed their most cherished leader to the exactions of the slaveholding interest. The Democratic party of New York had no leader to present—had no great preference among the candidates, and in this respect have not the same right to complain that the Whigs of New York have. I by no means undertake to advise Whigs what to do. I have neither the right nor the disposition to give any such advice. The party with which I act has for the last fifteen or twenty years, or more, been termed a party of dough-faces; and if the Whigs submit to the treatment they have now received, I shall consider the account between us fully adjusted. One thing it is due to General Taylor to say, that whilst he omits to declare what he will do, he announces what he will not do. He says, that although a Whig now, he must not be expected to be a Whig after he is elected. In regard to Tyler, I think they had a right to complain, although they did sing that they would

"Go for Tylor, therefore,
Without a why or wherefore."

The fact that Tyler was nominated as a Whig, accepted as a Whig, and elected as a Whig, gave them some right to expect that he would be a Whig after he was sworn in. (Laughter.) But General Taylor has foreclosed any such expectation; he has refused to occupy any such position. Whatever disappointment, therefore, there may be at any course he may take, I do not think there can be any just cause of complaint. His situation was described to me by a Whig the other day most appropriately, who said that anybody might vote for General Taylor, but nobody ought to. (Laughter.) I see it stated by one of his leading friends that he will remove no one from office for a difference of political opinion, and I am inclined to believe that some veteran office-holding friends of mine place full reliance on this promise. I was in Albany the other day, when General Cass made his entry into the city. In front of him were ten or fifteen men on horseback, the class of men known as "boys," who will ride a horse for any man who will pay for the horse. Behind them came five carriages, with ten men in and twelve horses; afterwards came what was supposed to be citizens on foot, (laughter) amongst whom I observed Mr. David Floyd Jones, of New York, and Mr. David Seymour, of Troy. I felt for my watch to see how long the procession would be in passing; but it had got by before I got my watch out of my pocket. (Laughter and cheering.) On reaching Congress Hall, Mr. Rufus W. Peckham, an intelligent lawyer of Albany, drew himself up to address General Cass, and to tender to him a cordial welcome. After speaking with great propriety and distinctness three or four sentences, Mr. P. stopped and said "the truth is General, we are very glad to see you, but I must read the rest from my paper:" and drawing from his pocket, accordingly, a paper, he proceeded to read a cordial and appropriate welcome; but I did not see at the procession either the Postmaster, the Collector, or Deputy Collector. It may be that these gentlemen recognize the impropriety of attempting to perpetuate their power by political efforts. Or it may be that they are friendly to General Taylor. The offering made by General Cass to the South will, in all human probability prove ineffectual. Amongst the delegates from the Albany Convention to Baltimore, were the Postmaster of Buffalo, the Postmaster of Penn Yan, the Postmaster of Delhi, the Collector of Rochester, and other office-holders under the General Government. They aided to procure the nomination of General Cass, and if in addition to the defection of the South, he should now be abandoned by the office-holders who put him in nomination, he would present an unfortunate illustration of the fable of Actæon, who was devoured by his own hounds. (Laughter.) It will be the duty of the Utica Convention to select a candidate who truly represents the principles of New York. The nominations made in behalf of both parties have been made by slaveholding dictation. The Baltimore nominee does, as Colonel Benton says, come from the North. He does more; he goes to the South, and the people that he abandons will not be likely to adhere to him. The assemblages at Baltimore and Philadelphia saw that, after a struggle of twenty years, the great questions of the tariff, the bank, and the independent treasury, were substantially settled; that whatever disposition there might be to disturb the existing tariff, the present national debt would probably prevent any interference with that, or with the proceeds of the public lands, at least during the ensuing administration; that the contest, in regard to a bank of the United States, had been waged since the foundation of the Government, and had three times retired in a refusal of the people to charter such an institution; that the independent treasury was established in 1839, and although it was repealed in 1840, it was re established at the first opportunity, and is the undoubted preference of our citizens. The business interests of this country have adapted themselves to the existing order of things; strife and uncertainty are more injurious to them than almost any policy, and the country is now enjoying in all the various departments of industry, an unexampled degree of prosperity. If, however, a desire existed to modify the financial policy of the Government, they saw that this could be effected through the election of members of Congress. In view of these circumstances they made the Presidential election turn upon the question of extending Slavery into territory, and secured two nominees who were supposed to be friendly to such extension. To effect this regular organization, past political differences, present associations, public services, capacity, individual claims, consistency, and every other consideration were made to give way to the unyielding and imperious demands of a slaveholding faction. Shall, then, the citizens of New York meet the issue which has thus been presented? If no nominations have been made with reference to past political divisions, shall the Utica nomination be made upon the same basis, and with reference mainly to the single great question of the day? Can a greater question be presented? It has already destroyed the organization of two parties which have existed since the foundation of the Government. It has sacrificed some of the first men in the Republic. It has caused others to apostatize from their own convictions—from the faith taught by the fathers of the Republic—and to turn recreant to the spirit of the revolution—the brilliant history of the Republic—the dictates of humanity, and the example of the civilized world. And this question is fully understood in this State. In pursuance of the intention of the framers of the Constitution, New York proceeded to abolish Slavery within her own borders. The abolition was a subject of earnest discussion and was effected in 1817 under the patriot Tompkins. Having thus willingly deprived herself of the advantages of unequal slave representation, New York has waited thirty years, without even discussing the evils of Slavery, for her Southern brethren in like manner to execute the implied engagements of the Constitution. Instead of finding them disposed to do this, we find them bent upon acquiring further slave territory, and bringing into this unequal Union more slave States. Having yielded to this, and having suffered Texas, Louisiana, and Florida, thus to come into a partnership which violates the great principle lying at the basis of our independence, that representation and taxation should go hand in hand, she now finds a determination shown to use the blood and treasure of the Union, to march upon a degraded and half-civilized people in Mexico, or the free and sturdy population of Oregon, to overturn freedom and plant there new slave States. She will resist this aggression, and I tremble when I think of the consequences which the South have thus provoked. The wealth of the free States, their enterprize, and their energy, are as boundless as is their progress. No less distinguished and remarkable is their intellectual power. It would almost seem as if there were something in the institution of human Slavery which depressed the intellect, as well as the energy and enterprize, of the white race. Look over the face of this country, in its local Legislatures, its courts, bar, Congress, in all the departments of literature, science, and the arts, and without undertaking to mention names, does not a glance show that the brains of this nation, like those of the natural man, lie above the belt? (Tremendous laughter and cheers.) Suffer then this enterprize, this energy, this intellect, to be brought to bear against the sin and misery of human Slavery, its false economy, its political injustice—its social degradation—its exclusion or prostration of the Anglo-Saxon race. Unfetter it after thirty years of silence and restraint, and suffer it to speak the truths which fraternal love and a just respect to the compromises of the Constitution compelled it to suppress. (Applause.) Let it chide our Southern brethren with their tardiness in emancipating the slave; let it publicly agitate the horrors of Slavery, which it cannot avoid doing; let it point to Great Britain, Denmark, Turkey, and other despotic Governments that have abolished Slavery, (cheers,) or to the young Republic of France, founded on the declaration of Jefferson, that all men are born free and equal; let this work be entered upon—and it is inevitable, for the South have forced it upon us—and he must be blind who does not see that the institution of human Slavery throughout the United States must fall before this discussion." (Nine cheers were here given for the speaker.) In this respect (continued Mr. V. B.) it becomes an important consideration to those misguided men who, few in numbers, and sternly opposed by the mass of our upright and prudent citizens, have looked fixedly at the sun of freedom, regardless of the bars of the Constitution which lay in their path: who, shocked by the enormities of human Slavery, have jeoparded fraternal love, and our glorious Union—whether it is now their duty to adhere to a position in which they have faced defeat, persecution and danger, with the unyielding tenacity which distinguishes those who act from conviction, or whether they should join that great democratic army, who, when they once shoulder the [cross of liberty, never sink under its burden, and who were never known to enlist in behalf of freedom, without eventually being crowned with complete success. I have near and dear friends who are slaveholders: and I tremble when I think of the dangers which may attend a discussion which Southern men and slaveholders have thus forced upon the public. The framers of our Government foresaw this difficulty; slaveholders themselves, they took the lead in denouncing Slavery: they were careful to make it a purely domestic institution; they promised and endeavoured to ameliorate its condition, and eventually to abolish it. They founded a Government and a policy which forbade its extension; they then relied, as the result shows, with entire safety, upon their more fortunate and non-slaveholding brethren, to leave the institution unmolested. All these wise and patriotic considerations have been thrown behind them by the avarice of the slaveholder and the intrigues of the partizan; the consequences are fearful to contemplate. But I am told that either General Taylor or General Cass must be elected President; that there is not time to effect any other result. There are still five months before election: this country is intersected with railroads, magnetic telegraphs; thousands of newspapers are daily issued, and public speakers are addressing the people in all directions. Louis Philippe was one of the most able sovereigns that ever sat upon a throne; he had strengthened his power by matrimonial alliances with the reigning families of neighbouring kingdoms; he had a eulogist and biographer in this Republic; (a loud laugh, "he means Cass,") he had one hundred thousand men under arms, and legally subject to his order, in the city of Paris; he was supposed to be the wealthiest man in the world; and yet, in five hours he was driven from his throne and his country by an unarmed people, and landed almost pennyless upon a foreign shore. If, then, such an unequal contest for human liberty can be waged by a people who never enjoyed its blessings, am I to believe that five months are not sufficient to enable 7,000,000 of labouring men, enjoying a free Government, to vanquish 200,000 slaveholders, when the stake to be contended for is the preservation of freedom, and the task to be accomplished is to deposit, under the protection of our Constitution and laws, a piece of paper in a ballot box, next November? It has been suggested that this question can be compromised: that leaders of both political parties will be found who will abandon the principles which they have professed, and endeavour to secure the election of one of the two candidates now in nomination. In my judgment this question has passed beyond the control of any leader; it is in the hands of the voters. Leaders may compromise themselves, but they cannot compromise the principles they have advocated; they may sell themselves, but they cannot sell the people with whom they have heretofore acted. It is a bad, ugly season for trading, and if my almanac is correct, those who embark this fall on the tempestuous sea of party politics, hoping to be wafted into a safe harbour by the mild and steady breezes of the trade winds, greatly miscalculate the strength and temperature of the gales they will encounter. The condition of the public mind is eminently favourable to earnest discussion. I differ with those who believe that a happy nickname or a successful battle ever did or ever will make a President of the United States. The history of General Harrison and General Jackson ought to dispel such an impression. Both were beaten when they first ran—the one by Mr. Adams, the other by Mr. Van Buren, and to neither of these gentlemen was generally conceded great personal popularity. But General Jackson, as the head and representative of the Democratic party, was irresistible. So was General Harrison as the representative of that mass of men, who, seeing a uniform financial policy pursued for twelve years, and at the same time finding it followed by commercial depression, determined to hold the policy responsible for their sufferings, and to try a change. The great argument in 1840, which, in my judgment, determined the result was the ordinary and vulgar one that it is a relief to a man in pain, who has been lying in one position some time, to turn over; and I infer so from the promptness with which the people who tried the change of position turned back again! A careful examination, I believe, will always show that the people of this country decide Presidential elections upon principle: and I am extremely curious to see upon what particular principle the people of this country are to be asked to place General Taylor or General Cass in the Presidential office to act for them. What are they to do when they get there? If it was a mere application to contribute four years' salary, or the highest praise and gratitude to General Taylor, there is not a man, woman, or child in this republic, I hope, who would not unite in a contribution. But the selection of a chief magistrate of 20,000,000 of people, to discharge delicate and important trusts for them, requiring great civil wisdom and experience, and the direction of this chief magistrate, in the course he is to pursue, are other and totally different duties connected with self-government, which the American people are imperatively called upon to discharge; and which, in my humble judgment, they will discharge at this election—with the same calmness, impartiality and independence that would distinguish twelve qualified jurors rendering a verdict in a case which they were sworn to try. There are indications in neighbouring States, in Ohio and Massachusetts, and elsewhere, of a general uprising of the people in behalf of the great principle involved in this election. But it is with New York alone that I am particularly acquainted, and of her people only, that I would presume to speak. I have attended meetings unprecedented in size and respectability, in spirit and intelligence in New York, Albany, Syracuse, Auburn, Rochester, Buffalo, Warsaw, and here; and I feel entire conviction what will be the course of the freemen of this State, unless the nominations to be made at Utica, should be such as to impede or embarrass the principle to be represented. This State will be as it has been on several momentous occasions, strongly united in support of liberal principles. It was so in the revolution; it was so in the war of 1812; it was so when the Constitutions of '21 and '46 were formed. Seduction and intimidation will be alike powerless with our noble Commonwealth—great in physical resources—great in social and moral elevation and improvement—great in intellectual power—she is greater than all in her devotion to liberty. She can neither be bought or bullied; if she should stand alone now, she has stood alone before. The land of Jay, Hamilton, Clinton, Tomkins and Wright, is able to stand alone, she bore nearly the entire brunt of the late war—assailed by land and by water—abandoned by those who should have aided her—she never faltered or hesitated or sank; and if now, in the light of example abroad, in the face of human progress, in the improved opinion of this age, the duty is to devolve upon her of tearing from the bright banner of the United States, the emblem of aggressive Slavery, and of standing before the world on the platform erected by our revolutionary forefathers, which all others seek to prostrate or destroy, she will calmly, firmly, and proudly assume this honourable position.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 6, 1848.

A Word to New York Divines.

The cloak of charity covereth many sins, but the name of those is legion which hide themselves beneath the ample mantle of sectarianism. Her borders are wide enough to enclose beneath their folds all manner of corruption, and much which charity however benignant, however forgiving, strives in vain to hide beneath her scanty garments. Many wrongs skulk and crouch in the protecting presence of sectarianism, confident of security in their very littleness, and others of giant growth stalk unrebuked and bold in their very strength. There is no sin however hideous, over which she will not throw the Christian garb, if she can increase thereby her own influence; and as the devil quotes scripture to justify himself to his children, so she will make broad her phylacteries with texts from the Law and the Gospel, if thereby she may swell the number of her devotees.

We have before us an address "to the American Churches," issued recently and signed by the Rev. Drs. Spring, Tyng, and some three or four other well-kuown clergymen of the gospel according to the New York platform. The object it aims at is preëminently a sectarian one, and the prejudice it appeals to—it appeals to that and national vanity alone—is the popular one against Catholicism. It is crowded from beginning to end with the cant of orthodoxy, and fairly hisses with the sniffling pietism of the American meeeting-house. Its ostensible purpose is to solicit aid for a mission to France.

Protestantism in France has sent an emissary to this country to fraternize with the Protestantism of America. This is a matter which concerns the Catholicism of that country and this, and she is abundantly able to take care of it. Our private opinion is that the religion of Paris is as good as the religion of New York, and that an exchange, could one be effected, would be decidedly in our favour. We doubt if the men in blouses would know or perform any better their duty to their fellows, were they to have the advantage, once a week, of the droppings from the Sanctuary opposite our office, where the spiritual ladle is in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Spring, or of those of any of his co-signers to this address; and we are quite sure that these reverend gentlemen and their flocks, might learn a valuable lesson from the men in blouses. There are certain great principles of Christianity which the French people are striving to carry into very practical operation just now under their motto of LIBERTY EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

Nevertheless we are very willing that Catholicism and Protestantism should fight out their old battle, and do not at all wonder that the latter should take advantage of the disturbed condition of the Catholic countries to strike a blow for their side of the question. Strategy and ambuscade are an important part of military tactics, and there is no great difference between these and theological. Dr. Spring and his compatriots are doubtless good tacticians, and are not wanting in that essential element of success—boldness. But in this particular case their valour runs to rashness. Their bravery is nothing but effrontery; their sectarian zeal has overstepped the boundary of prudence and modesty, and put on the brazen front of impudent hypocrisy. Had they kept within their proper sphere, and advocated a crusade in France, only because Protestantism is better than its old enemy, we, for one, should have hardly cared which succeeded in building up a sectarian organization at the expense of the true Church. There is an old proverb with which honest men may comfort themselves in such a scramble.

But Dr. Spring and his friends have chosen to make their appeal to the American Churches in a new language. "The signs of the Times," they say, "cannot, well be misunderstood." "The Governor among the nations is coming out of his place to shake terribly the earth." It is not, they hope, "with unhallowed emotions" that they regard at such a time "the prominence which the God of Heaven has assigned to our own favoured land. It is a remarkable fact that the revolutionary nations are looking with hope to the American people." An appeal for aid, they add, comes emphatically from France; from Paris; from the land of the Huguenots; where they have sought in vain for ages "the liberty wherewith Christ makes us free;" but where the gospel has now free choice; where the "word of God is not bound;" where the pure gospel is now accessible to the people in every form; and whose affecting cry is "come over and help us." France now solicits the word of God; an open door is set by Him "before the American Churches," which shall remain open if the call be answered, and France be beautified with "His salvation."

If the Governor among the nations meant ever to "shake terribly the earth," in any other sense than that corrupt institutions, in the fulness of time, bea corrupt fruit, we doubt if it would have been put off till the 19th century. There has not been wanting any time these five thousand years good cause of interference of omnipotent power to overthrow wrong and establish right, if such were the ways of God's Providence. But we marvel that these men all reverend, and almost divine as they are, can venture, while they hold to such a faith, to stay among brick houses. Of all the nations on the face of the globe, should justice be meted out carefully, there is not one that so much merits a shaking as our own. Should she get her deserts "a terrible shaking" indeed would be hers; such an one as would make a residence among brick meeting-houses, like this which frowns upon us from over the way, dangerous in the extreme. Did we, with these gentlemen, believe in such general shaking as a special Providence, such is our faith in eternal justice, that we should offer up with the strongest hope of immediate response, the prayer of the Scotch Puritan, who, referring to some Popish opponent, cried out, "Shake him, O Lord! shake him right over the pit of hell; but dinna O Lord! let him fall in!" Has not Dr. Spring some fear of retributive justice? Had he and his friends no compunctious visitings while preparing this address? Were there not in their mental vision dim spectres in multitudes,—millions of weeping women, wretched children, and strong men bowed down in agony—of the black slaves of their own country? *Could* they close their ears to the "dumb inarticulate cry" of the poor enslaved at home who appeal to them for deliverance from captivity?

They remember, and they hope, with no "unhallowed emotions, the prominence given to our "favoured land." Prominent indeed in her opportunities and her promises, but alas! prominent now only for having forgotten the one, and used the other only for evil. Have the reverend gentlemen no emotion to spare for this? Could they not get beyond the thick folds of their Protestant sectarism one glimpse of the fact that however much the Gospel may have been a sealed book in France, or opened only by proxy, that in the United States it has been a forbidden book—forbidden under pains and penalties—to one-sixth of the people, and opened by themselves, the authorized expounders of the word, as the authority for wrong? The Protestant colporteurs in France, could find at least Protestant churches to whom to preach or give the printed Gospel. But the colporteur in New Orleans or Charleston, whether Protestant or Catholic would be rewarded with imprisonment if caught with the Bible in his hands, or the word of God in his mouth, wherewith to teach the class that most needs religious instruction and spiritual comfort. Did you, most grave and reverend Doctors, keep your countenances in their usual solemn elongation, when you said that God had opened a door in France to the churches in America to enter and lead a nation to salvation—*Protestant* salvation—when you know—none know it better—that these very churches have shut up the American slave in the dark, deep dungeon of his bondage, hopeless, helpless, and closed upon him door and window, so that not even a ray of the light of liberty could penetrate the gloom of his darkness? If you did not smile in the consciousness of this poorly glazed hypocrisy, did you not shudder when you remembered the martyrs Drayton and Sayres in *their* comfortless and dreary dungeon in the Capital of the country, while the Church of the land has not a prayer to breathe for their deliverance, or a remonstrance for the tyranny so rampant here, and which, you so rejoice, is "withering" in the Old World? Did you not shrink, for one moment, from the task of appealing for aid to spread the Gospel in other lands, when in your own such an appeal comes from the new-made grave at Covington of the self-destroyed family, who preferred death to Slavery? Could you silence the voice that would answer to the "Come over and help us,"—"we have work at home?"

However, we presume the reverend gentlemen neither thought nor cared for any of these things, and we are almost ashamed of pressing such idle questions. Thoughts of Southern dungeons, and Southern graves of murdered slaves—slaves who silently acted what Henry only said—"give me Liberty or give me Death"—are not often troublesome to the reverend clergy of the Protestant Church of America. We doubt if they thought of things nearer home even than the other side of Mason & Dixon's line. The religion which shuts itself up, and mumbles prayers daily in Trinity church, might find occasion for the practice of its precepts should it step out into Wall street. The poor who are excluded from the fashionable Sunday levees of Grace church are nevertheless not abolished from the city. It is but a short walk from the pleasant rectory of Dr. Tyng to the "Swamp" and "Five Points,"—the reason, perhaps, why both church and rectory should be removed, as we understand they are to be, to a more fashionable neighbourhood. Church street presents an excellent field for missionary labour, though we would warn any self-denying young clergyman from rushing into it, in the expectation, from its name, that it is conversion from one church to another that is needed there. Nor need these appellants for aid to France go even to such localities to find appropriate work for Christian divines. As we have seen from our office windows on Sundays the liveried lackeys, on a long line of carriages, who wait outside through sun and storm, for their masters and mistresses who are lead in their holy devotions within the walls of Dr. Spring's church, we have marvelled somewhat at so much care for mortal bodies, and so little for immortal souls. Would it not be well, if Protestant preaching is really of so much importance as to call for divine interposition, that these reverend gentlemen should follow the divine example, and "open the door" of the New York churches, to the dependents of their rich parishioners, and preach the Gospel to the poor—a Gospel that will feed both soul and body?

The Appeal, however, we have no doubt, will be responded to. Sectarianism does not want for supporters, who will rejoice in the opportunity of compounding for their shortcomings at home, by damning those abroad committed by other people. The French, however, are not slow at detecting absurdities, and should this matter happen to strike them in the right light, the cry would not be "come over and help us," but the more characteristic national exclamation,—*vive la bagatelle!*

Letter from Birdofredum Sawin.

Another letter from Mr. Sawin, in which the hero expresses a modest willingness to yield to the wishes of his countrymen and allow his name to be used in connexion with the Presidency.

(The following was enclosed to us by Mr. Biglow who states that it was apparently "wrote from Veery Cruse.")

I spose you wonder where I be; I can't tell, for the soul o' me,
Exaktly where I be myself, meanin by that the whole o' me;
When I left hum, I had two legs, and they worn't bad ones neither,
(The scaliest trick they ever played was bringin on me hither,)
Now one on 'em's I dunno where;—they thought I was adyin,
And sawed it off because they said 'twas kind o' mortifyin;
I'm willing to believe it was, and yit I dont see nutther,
Why one should take to feelin cheap a minnit sooner 'n tother,
Sence both was equilly to blame; but things is as they be,
It took on so they took it off, and that 's enough for me:
There 's one good thing, though, to be said about my wooden new one,
The licker can't git into it as 't used to in the true one,
So it saves drink, and then, besides, a feller couldn't beg
A gretter blessin than to have one ollers sober peg;
It's true a chap's in want o' two for follerin a drum,
But all the march I'm up to now is jest to Kingdom Come.

I've lost one eye, but that's a loss it's easy to supply
Out o' the glory that I've got, for that is all my eye;
And one is big enough, I guess, by diligently usin it
To see all I shall ever get by way of pay for losin it;
Off'cers, I notice, who git paid for all our thumps and, kickins,
Do wal by keepin single eyes arter the fattest pickins,
So as the eye's put fairly out, I'll larn to go without it,
And not allow myself to be no great put out about it:
Now lemmy see, that isn't all; I used 'fore leavin Jalam,
To count things on my finger-ends, but sutthin seems to ail 'em,
Where 's my left hand? O, darn it yes, I recollect what's come on 't,
I haint no left arm but my right and that 's got jest a thumb on 't;
It ain't so handy as it was to callylate a sum on 't;
I've had some ribs broke—six (I b'lieve) I haint kep no account on 'em,
When pensions git to be the talk I'll settle the amount on 'em,
And now I'm speakin about ribs, it kind o' brings to mind
One that I couldn't never break, the one I left behind;
Ef you should see her, jest clear out the spout o' your invention
And pour the longest sweetnin in about an annooal pension,
And kind o' hint (in case you know, the critter shold refuse to be
Consoled) I aint so 'xpensive now to keep as what I used to be;
There's one arm less, ditto one eye, and then the leg that's wooden
Can be took off and sot away whenever there's a puddin.

I spose you think I'm comin back as oppilent as thunder
With shiploads o'gold images and varus sorts o' plunder;
Wal 'fore I vullunteered, I thought this country was a a sort 'o
Canaan, a reglar Promised Land flowin with rum and water,
Where propaty growed up like time without no cultivation,
And gold was dug as taters be among our Yankee nation,
Where nateral advantiges were puffictly amazin,
Where every rock there was about with preshus stuns was blazin,
Where millsites filled the country up as thick as you could cram 'em,
And desput rivers run about a beggin folks to damn 'em,
Then there were meetinhouses, too, chockful o' gold and silver
That you could take and no one couldn't hand ye in no bill for;
That's what I thought afore I went, that's what them fellers told us
That stayed to hum and speechified and to the buzzards sold us;
I thought that goldmines could be got cheaper than chiny asters,
And see myself a comin back like sixty Jacob Astors;
But sech idees soon melted down and didn't leave a grease-spot,
I von my whole sheer o' the spiles wouldn't come nigh a V spot.
Although most anywheres we've been you needn't break no locks
Nor run no kind o' risks, to fill your pocket full o' rocks.

I guess I mentioned in my last some o' the nateral feeturs
O' this all fiered buggy hole in the way of orfle creeturs,
But I forgot to name (new things to speak on so abounded)
How one day you'll most die o' thirst and 'fore the next git drownded;
The clymit seems to me jest like a teapot made o' pewter
Our Prudence had, that wouldn't pour (all she could do) to suit her;
Fust place the leaves would choke the spout, so's not a drop would dreen out,
Then Prude would tip and tip and tip till the whole kit bust clean out,
The kiver-hinge-pin bein lost, tealeaves and tea and kiver
Would all come down *kerswosh!* as though the dam broke in a river;
Jest so 'tis here; whole months there aint a day o' rainy weather,
And jest as th' officers would be a layin heads together
As t' how they 'd mix their drink at such a milingtary Deepot,—
'Twould pour as though the lid was off the everlastin teapot.
The consquence is that I shall take, when I'm allowed to leave here,
One piece o' propaty along—and that's the shakin fever;
It's reggilar employment, though, and that aint thought to harm one,
Nor taint so tiresome as it was with tother leg and arm on,
And its a consolation too, although it doesn't pay,
To have it said you 're some great shakes in any kind o' way.
Tworn't very long, I tell yer what, I thought o' fortinmakin,—
One day a reglar shiver-de-freeze, and next as good as bakin,—
One day abrilin in the sand, then smothrin in the mashes,—
Git up all sound, be put to bed a mess o' hacks and smashes;—
But then, thinks I, at any rate there's glory to be had,
That's an investment, arter all, that mayn't turn out so bad;
But somehow, when we'd fit and whipped, I ollers found the thanks
Got kind o' lodged afore they come as low down as the ranks;
The Gin'rals got the biggest share, the Gunnels next, and so on,
We never got a blasted mite o' glory as I know on;
And spose we had, I wonder how you're goin to contrive its
Division so's to give a piece to twenty thousand privits?
Ef you should multiply by ten the portion of the brav's t one,
You wouldn't git more 'an half enough to speak of on a gravestone.
We git the licks, we're jest the grist that's put into War's hoppers,
Leftenants is the lowest grade that helps pick up the coppers.
No, glory is a kind o' thing I shan't pursue no furder,
All that's the off'cers perquisite, and yourn is all the murder;
It may suit folks that go agin a body with a soul in 't
Who aint contented with a skin without a bagnet hole in 't.

Wal, arter I gin glory up, thinks I at least there's one Thing in the bills, we aint had yit, and that's the "glorious fun;"
Ef once we git to Mexico, we fairly may persume we All day and night shall revel in the halls o' Montezumy.
I'll tell ye what *my* revels was and see how you would like 'em;
We never got inside the hall: the nighest ever *I* come
Was standing sentry in the sun (and, fact it seemed a cen'try)
A ketchin smells o' biled and roast that come out thru the entry,
And hearin as I sweltered thru my passes and repasses
A rat-tat-too of knives and forks, a 'elinkty-clink o' glasses:
I can't tell off the bill o'fare the Gin'rals had inside,
All I know is that out o' doors a pair o' soles was fried,
And not a hundred miles away from where this child was posted,
A Massachusetts citizen was baked and biled and roasted
The only thing like revelling that ever come to me,
Was being routed out o' sleep by that darned revelee.

They say the quarrel 's settled now, for my part I've some doubt on 't,
'Twill take more fish-skin than folks think to take the rile clean out on 't;
At any rate, I'm so used up I can't do no more fightin,
The only chance that's left to me is politics or writin;
Now as the people's got to have a milingtary man
And I aint nothin else jest now, I've hit upon a plan;
The candidatin line, you know, would suit me to a T,
And ef I lose 'twunt hurt my ears to lodge another flea;
So I'll set up as candidate for any kind of office,
(I mean for any that includes good easy-cheers and soffies,
For as to runnin for a place where work's the time o' day,
You know that's what I never did—except the other way;)
Ef its the Presidential cheer fer which I'd better run
What two legs anywhere's about could keep up with my one?
There aint no kind o' quality in candidates, it's said,
So useful as a wooden leg—except a wooden head;
There's nothin aint so poppylar—(why its a perfect sin
To think what Mexico has paid for Santy Anny

A PAIR OF 'EM.—The following conversation occured in the course of a debate, in the House of Representatives at Washington, a few days since:

Mr. Clark—Is General Taylor for the Wilmot Proviso, or is he not? Will he if Congress pass a bill containing the principle veto it?

Mr. Haskell—I will answer, if the gentleman will allow me to put a question to him.

Mr. Clark—I want to know the views of General Taylor.

Mr. Haskell—I wish to ask the gentleman a question, and I call upon him to answer.

Mr. Clark—I object to the gentleman putting a question because he won't answer me. I ask whether there is authority for saying that General Taylor will veto the Wilmot Proviso?

Mr. Haskall—Will General Cass?

Mr. Clark—*He will.* And now, I ask will General Taylor?

Mr. Haskell—I don't know.

Mr Clark—You don't know what General Taylor will do!

Mr. Haskell—I believe that he is opposed to the doctrine of the Wilmot Proviso.

Mr. Clark—Do you suppose that he will veto a bill containing the principlies of the Wilmot Proviso?

Mr. Haskell—I don't know. Will General Cass?

Mr. Clark—*Yes.*

These are the positions of the two leading candidates for the Presidency of a Republic. It is certain that one will *veto* a bill prohibiting the *re-establishment* of hu man bondage in a conquered province, and it is not certain hat the other will not. Ar 'nt we a great people?

WEST INDIAN IMMIGRATION.—In a recent debate in the House of Lords on a bill for the relief of Tobago, Lord Brougham said that he had no objection to a grant of money for the purposes contemplated by the bill, but he could not let the present opportunity pass of recording his unabated hostility to the slave-trade. With all the experience acquired by fifty years' advocacy of the abolition of Slavery, it was his unhesitating opinion that any plan for the extensive importation of Africans into our colonial possessions must ultimately degenerate into the African slave-trade.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slaverv Society is so busy in aiding the bankrupt planters of the West Indies in their efforts to tax the poor of Great Britain by establishing a high tariff of duties on all foreign sugars, that they have little time to arouse public attention to the modified slave-trade which is already flourishing in the West Indies, and to the systematic efforts of the West Indian interest which are calculated to place the negro in a condition but little removed from that of Slavery.

WILLIAM AND MARY HOWITT.—We observe on the list of bankrupts in the London papers the name of William Howitt. In an appeal to the public in the last number of his Journal, he ascribes his great pecuniary losses to his connection with the People's Journal. The Boston correspondent of the Literary World says that Mr. and Mrs. Howitt are about to visit this country.

SENATOR DODGE, the Barnburners' candidate for the Vice Presidency, has published a card in the Washington Union, in which he declines accepting the nomination.—He has not, he says, received any official communication from the officers of the Convention, but observing his name used as a candidate he thinks proper to withraw it. He announces his intention to support Cass and Butler.

WHIG PRINCIPLES.—"They—the Locos—have had the spoils for nearly twenty years, and it is time the Whigs had them a while," says a correspondent of the New York Tribune, in advocating the the election of Taylor. "But how these persons," says the Boston Courier, alluding to the Young Whigs, "can fancy they are about to do anything for their *own welfare*, or *that of the party* to which they belong, is beyond the comprehension of an ordinary observer." We are glad to see these two leading papers bringing this question of Whiggery down to its simple terms of *party* and *pocket*.

HON. SIDNEY LAWRENCE Representative in Congress from this State will accept our thanks for a copy of his speech on the 12th ult. on the Power and Duty of Congress to prohibit Slavery in Territories.

THIS WEEK'S PAPER.—Though we occupy so large a portion of this number with speeches, there is none of it that will not repay a perusal. The reader will no doubt observe many errors in them all, but they must be attributed, not to us, but the *Herald*. We have corrected, where it was possible, but in some instances it was impossible to make sense. On the whole, however, the reporters have made all the speakers tolerably clear. It is especially evident, and we call the reader's attention thereto, that Senator Dix thinks that the creation of "niggers" was a great mistake on the part of the Almighty, and that they had better be abolished altogether by the white folks; and that Senator Calhoun is certain that nobody was born at all except when they were "babbles," and of course can't by any possibility have any rights, especially if they were born black.

Domestic Correspondence.

From our Boston Correspondent.

No. XXXIII.

THE ARGUMENT.—*The Worcester Anti-Regular-Nominations Convention.—Foundation of New Party.—Extra Train from Boston.—Marshals of the Cars.—Robert Morris.—Look of Worcester.—Drums and Processions.—Boston delegates escorted to Common.—Convention there.—Messrs. Allen and Wilson.—Other speeches.—Mr. Amasa Walker.—A many-sided politician.—Mr. Leavitt's confession, exhortation, and proposition.—Coincidence of opinion between Mr. Leavitt and Old Org.—Bad Memories.—Mneumonics.—Afternoon in grove.—Numbers.—Mr. Campbell of Ohio.—Address.—Mr. Giddings.—Thunder shower.—Town Hall.—Mr. Giddings's and the Correspondent's opinion about voting for slaveholders.—Mr. Lovejoy.—Cool advice for a hot evening.—Mr. Adams's speech.—Mr. Sumner's.—Mr. E. Wright's Personal Narrative.—Mr. Keyes.—Mr Hoar, jr.—Conclusion of the whole matter.*

BOSTON, June 29th, 1848.

I am just returned from the Anti-Cass-and-Taylor Convention at Worcester, which will be memorable (if men do not deny the faith they professed and the works they promised) as the beginning of a Free State political movement against the aggressions of Slavery. Notwithstanding the contempt which the Old Whig papers had endeavoured to throw upon the plan, an extra train left Boston of *fourteen* cars, fuller than full; and as the cars have an average of *sixty* seats each, and many could not get seats, there must have been near a thousand in this train alone. Of these more than a hundred came from Salem and Lynn. The passengers in each car were requested to choose a marshal for the procession which was to proceed to the meeting on arrival. Those in my car made choce of Robert Morris, Esq., the promising young coloured lawyer, of whom your readers have heard.

Upon arriving, we found the city wearing quite a holiday aspect, full of people and flags, drums and processions. The Boston party were marshalled (we that were *outsiders* modestly retiring to the sidewalk) and taken, under escort of a strong party from a manufacturing district of Worcester, to the Common, to which the Convention had been driven by stress of numbers. A Platform, with an awning was erected on the Common, crowded with the officers of the Convention, and the prominent members of it. The Hon. Samuel Hoar was in the Chair and had made his opening speech before I got upon the ground. It was said to have been a very fine one. At the time of *my* arrival, the Hon. Stephen C. Phillips was proposing a resolution of approbation of the course of Messrs. Allen and Wilson, at the Philadelphia Convention. This called forth first Mr. Allen and then Mr. Wilson, who were received with enthusiastic applause, and briefly stated what their course had been and the reasons of it.

Several other gentlemen addressed the morning meeting. Messrs. Paine and Hart of Rhode Island, who both made excellent speeches, Woodman of Maine, Poole of Boston, &c. Mr. Amasa Walker, who brought to this new movement the assistance of his extensive experience in all the various and most opposite political parties of the last twenty years, complained that the Convention was not Catholic enough in its organization, and did not embrace a proper proportion of the parties other than the Whig. When he ceased, Mr. Leavitt was called for by the well-disciplined, though not numerous, division of the Third Party. He commenced his speech by an admission, more candid than politic, that this Convention had gone beyond him (so long the organ of the Third Party) in plainness and thoroughness of speech. He exhorted the Convention to go on. What could defeat them? Treachery? But TREACHERY SEEN IS TREACHERY DEFEATED! There were not a few members of the American Anti-Slavery Society among the spectators, who cordially assented to the truth of this proposition, and thought they would not have far to go for *a witness upon the stand* to prove it. If they *did* happen to remember (they have shocking *bad* memories, and *forget* nothing!) the Emancipator and 1840, who can wonder? If they had not, then there is no such principle as Association of Ideas, and Mneumonics is a Humbug.

In the afternoon, the Convention met in a beautiful Oak Grove, near the Insane Hospital, (a vicinity suggestive of scurvy jests to the enemy) the audience sitting under the trees on the declivity of a hill, the platform being at its foot. The attendance was very large. The Old Whig, or Taylor, papers have done their best, this morning, to underrate the number present on this occasion; but had it been a Rough and Ready mass meeting, not a son of a gun of 'em would have put it down one short of TEN THOUSAND. Counsellor Gill, of the Post, an impartial observer like myself, estimated the morning meeting at about *five* thousand, and in the afternoon there were as many again. And you will note that the day was most inordinately and inconsiderately hot,—hot even for Worcester,—that City of the Plain, which its maligners say is the hottest place in the Universe, intended merely for the habitation of sinful men. It is absurd as well as mean to misrepresent such a circumstance as the size of any meeting. This was a very large one, and was certainly made up of men who could stand *fire*.

When the Chair was taken, Mr. Wilson introduced Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, as one of the delegates to the Philadelphia Convention who had stood up manfully to maintain the rights of the Whig Party of the United States. Mr. Campbell was received with great applause. After thanking the Convention for their cordial reception of him, and expressing his satisfaction at meeting the People of the Old Bay State, of whom he had heard so much, face to face, he proceeded to give his experience. "I went to the Philadelphia Convention instructed by my constituents, and pledged to them to vote for no man not pledged to the Wilmot Proviso. But I went willing to confer with Whigs from all parts of the Union and to hear what was to be said on all sides. But I soon found that those who professed to have come together to hear, confer, and reason, came with their minds made up. The Convention had more the appearance of a mob than of a deliberative body. The Southern Taylor men had everything their own way. No opponent of Taylor could be in order. He moved that the nominee of the Whig Convention should be a Whig! Never was there such a scene of excitement! His resolution was pronounced out of order by the Chair, and his appeal laid on the table, upon the motion of a Northern man! Other attempts were made by Ohio delegates to make Whig Principles and the Non-extension of Slavery a condition of nomination; but in vain. I do not come as a politician or to say what course my constituents will take. They are waiting for my Report. When they have heard it they will take action. But you may be assured the Whigs of Ohio will never consent to the Extension of Slavery!" (Cheers.)

Mr. S. C. Phillips then read the Address of the Convention to the People of Massachusetts. It was a well-written and forcible Paper,—the substance, if not the whole of which, you will probably lay before your readers. It proposed the formation of a New Party, to be made up of all the opponents of Slavery in the Old Parties, for the purpose of resisting every scheme for the Extension of Slavery, and stated the object of this Convention to be to take measures for the organization of such a party. It recommended the appointment of delegates to the Buffalo Convention, and prophesied that no other candidate can receive the electoral vote of Massachusetts. After an unsuccessful attempt of Mr. Mellen to embody the "Constitutional Question" and the "Habeas Corpus" in the Address, it was adopted by a unanimous roar of "Ayes."

Mr. Giddings was then introduced to the Convention, and received with loud and protracted applause. He seemed more moved than one would have thought such a veteran as he in the political field,—whose feet clove to the stump—would have been likely to be. He said: "I have never before been so much confounded and overwhelmed before any audience, as by the expressions of my fellow-citizens' approbation on this occasion. This day, I have long wished to see. There cannot be a better one until the consummation of all our hopes. I come from the New England of Ohio. My fathers, also, worshipped in this Mountain. Though space parts us, our feelings and principles are the same. The people of Northern Ohio are ready to abandon party names, and unite upon principles. They had maintained Whig principles as long as Whigs had principles. Who sacrificed the Whig principle of opposition to the Annexation of Texas? Eight Southern Whigs! men still in full fellowship with the Whig party! Are these men Whigs? Then am not I! Who voted for the War? Democrats? Aye. But Whigs too. All the Whigs but *fourteen*! (Three resounding cheers were here parenthesized for the *Fourteen*.) And these are the men that will denounce us for refusing to bow down before the political idol of the Philadelphia Convention. But Ohio stands where she ever did, and ever will, as long as two planks of the ship hold together, an enemy to the Extension of Slavery. She will not vote for the candidate of the Philadelphia Convention, but for one opposed to Slave-extension. Taylor was the candidate of South Carolina and of the Slaveholders. And were *they* ever deceived in their man? Never. As to the candidate for the Vice Presidency (Mr. Fillmore) he remembered that when chairman of Committee on Ways and Means, he had reported a bill for paying a master the value of a slave who escaped on board a British Frigate in 1814! And there the Congress of the United States had sat higgling about the price of the sinews and blood, the heart and brain of a man, at Mr. Fillmore's instance!"

At about this point of Mr. Giddings's speech, an auspicious clap of thunder over his left shoulder, ("*fragore intonuit laevum,*") ushered in a brisk shower, which rendered an adjournment advisable. In the evening, though it poured with rain, the spacious Town Hall was crowded in its every nook and cranny. Mr. Giddings was speaking when I entered, and was just then repudiating the Name of the Whig party,—which was received with shouts of applause. He had been denounced by a man who had voted every dollar and every man for the war as NO WHIG? Was General Taylor such a Whig as that man? If chosen, he would exercise his power for Slavery, or he would be a prodigy among Slaveholders. Had he come out as Henry Clay did in 1844, engaging to keep Slavery within its constitutional limits, he (Mr. Giddings,) would have voted for him. Here a portion of the audience, embracing, probably the Third Party men in it, exclaimed: "No! No!" "We would n't!" To which Mr. G. replied that he spoke only for himself, and that every man must be fully persuaded in his own mind. This position of Mr. Giddings's is absolutely impregnable to to the assaults of all who are willing to act under the Constitution. Of course a slaveholder is as good a candidate as an Abolitionist for a party whose object it is to keep Slavery within its constitutional limits, by constitutional means, if he will agree to do its work. It is, surely, as *unconstitutional* for Northern men, acknowledging allegiance to the Constitution, to put a Southern man under the ban of the Republic, because he is a slaveholder, as for Southern men to do the same thing to a Northern man because he is *not*.

Mr. Giddings proceeded—"As to Ohio, the day of her Redemption is come. She will never vote for Cass or Taylor, for the Slaveholder or the Doughface. As to New York, *I guess* (and I am Yankee enough for that), that in six weeks Cass will not be known there as a candidate. No Western State will support the Doughface. Michigan is moving. Wisconsin and Iowa are full of Barnburners of the first water. I have always thought a good Democrat better than a good Whig. The scarcity of the article enhances its value. This is a time for party ties to sit loosely upon us. The parties have abandoned their principles, and we must choose between our principles and them. Every attempt will be made to excite our old partizan feelings. Will any be deceived? (No! No!) If any are, their only hope lies in this Scripture—"the Lord preserveth the simple!" For my part, I do not believe any Free State to be so lost to self-respect as to vote for Taylor. In Illinois the Barnburners predominate. In Pennsylvania they led the Whigs, and it was believed would carry the State. Even in New Hampshire and benighted Maine, there is hope. We are told that we must take Taylor as the least of two evils. But of two such evils, it would take an intellectual microscope to tell the difference between them. South Carolina will go *en masse* for Taylor. Is South Carolina a Whig State, and John C. Calhoun a Whig? (No!) Think of Massachusetts and South Carolina voting for the same man, the one to restrain and the other to extend Slavery! Webster and Calhoun supporting Taylor; the one as the enemy, and the other as the friend, of Slavery! Would either of them he deceived? No. If John Davis [from whom he had this day seen a letter, giving in his adhesion to the nomination, but without an allusion to the Extension Question!] if John Davis support Taylor, I have no hesitation in saying HE IS NOT DECEIVED!" [Great applause.] Mr. Giddings concluded his speech with a complimentary exhortation to Massachusetts, and a feeling tribute to the memory of John Quincy Adams. He resumed his seat amid loud and long-continued cheering.

After the delegates to Buffalo, and the Central Committee, had been appointed, Mr. Lovejoy, the editor of the *Emancipator*, arose among cries of "Adams!" "Sumner!" "who is it?" He said: "many statesmen and politicians have *not* desired to see this day. They see it and are sorry. We see it and are glad. We come up here as to the Mount Zion of Freedom. We stand here, or sit as is most convenient, to cut down the Upas tree of Slavery. Would any one say with the poet, "Woodman spare that tree!" "Mr. L. then proceeded to speak at very great length on the aggressions of Slavery, and the sins of the political parties. He did not, however, seem ready to give up the organization of the Third Party in favour of the new one. Although he gave the new movement his blessing, and was obliging enough to favour the Buffalo Convention with his advice, viz.: to nominate Mr. Hale for President, and Mr. GIDDINGS for Vice-President! It was thought rather unreasonable that this gentleman should have occupied the time of three speakers, when there were twenty present whom the Convention wished to hear, when he did not intend to unite in the movement. There were many non-juring Disunionists present, but they did not feel free to occupy the time of the meeting, because, though they were within the *letter* of the law as opposed to Cass and Taylor, they were not within its *spirit*, as willing to unite in the political movement contemplated against them. Hon. Charles Francis Adams was then called for, and received with tumultuous cheering, and with three cheers more as the son of John Quincy Adams. His speech was of singular power and eloqdence, to which it is impossible for me to give the smallest idea in the little space that remains to me. You will see it in full in the *Whig*. He thanked the Convention for the kindness of its reception—kindness to which he had not of late been accustomed. In the councils of his former friends, he had met with coldness, almost with indignity. He spoke of his early confidence in the honesty and purity of the Whig party, and his belief that they would carry out their principles. The experiment had been tried, and the result was the Monstrous Fraud at Philadelphia! He was now convinced that there was nothing to save the Whig Party, as now organized, from political perdition. He was determined, as all honest men should be, *to have nothing more to do with it!* And why? In the Office of the Defender of the Constitution, he had learned the rules of evidence, and, applying those rules to the Whig party, after its systematic attempts at deception, he found it was not to be believed even on its oath! It has one set of principles for use and another for show! And now has a candidate that is plainly ashamed of his company!—A candidate without principles!—Or principles we are asked to take on the word of Mr. Abbot Lawrence! Mr. A. then traced the history of the opposition to Texas in the Legislature, and of the Anti-Texas Convention of 1845, and of the way in which the leading Whigs had cheated the people. Then he reviewed the course of the party as to the war, and the members of Congress who voted for it. Described the action of the Whig Convention of '46 in rejecting S. C. Phillips's resolutions—of that of '47 in accepting them—and of the accepting of General Taylor, as the result. Henceforth *he would have nothing to do with it!* He was free from every party. He was ready to act with anybody. Whatever may be the fate of you and me, I am ready to say in the words of one with whom I am proud to be connected "Sink or Swim, Survive or Perish, &c." He took his seat amid inextinguishable cheering.

Mr. Charles Sumner was next called for, and enthusiastically received. He had nothing to add to the words spoken by his friend who spoke with the voice of the Revolution. [Cheers.] He, too, renounced the Whig party. It was no longer the party of Humanity, and should be renounced. He belonged to the great Party of Freedom, planted on the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of U. S. When the Bastile was destroyed a bold courtier informed Lous XVI. of it. "It is an insurrection, then?" said the King. "No, sire, it is A REVOLUTION!" Lo! this is not an insurrection but a Revolution, not, indeed, beginning, but to end in the destruction of the Bastile of Slavery. Perhaps it would sound harsh to some to hear Slavery compared to the Bastile! (A voice, "The Bastile was a gentleman to it!") "Yes, the Bastile *was* a gentleman to it! The Perpetuation of Slavery was no part of the intention of the Constitution. (?) The Aggressions of Slavery achieved by Union of Slave-Power;—and to be resisted by Union of Freedom Power. [Cheers.] Taylor's nomination was effected by coalition of cotton-growers and cotton-spinners—of the Lords of the Loom and the Lords of the Lash! Both nominations are admitted to be evils. Neither is, then, to be chosen. But we shall fail! No good thought or thing ever failed! But we'll *not* fail. This movement has been said to be the greatest since the Revolution. It is the continuation of the Revolution itself! Let us all unite, like the slaveholders, all parties, all ages, and make the motto of regenerated France "*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*" our own! (Great cheering.)

Mr. Elizur Wright rose for a personal explanation, having interrupted Mr. Sumner in his speech, and stated, of his own knowledge, having attended a Convention at Rochester lately, and one somewhere else, that the People are in favour of Direct Taxation.

The Hon. Edward L. Keyes, the editor of the *Roxbury Gazette*, and one of the Governor's Council, was next hailed with many cheers, and made a very brief, but terse and telling speech. He alluded to the way in which the Press had been bought up—to the treatment of Mr. Buckingham [for whom three cheers were interpolated], and of Mr. Robinson, of the *Lowell Courier*, who had made the reputation and the fortune of the editor of the *Atlas*. "Massachusetts," said he "has always been sublime in her language, let her now be sublime in her acts!" Mr. Keyes has a fine voice and delivery, and can hardly fail to make a figure as a public man.

The Hon. E. R. Hoar, of Concord, concluded the meeting with a short speech. He, like Mr. Adams, was the grandson of a Signer of the Declaration (Roger Sherman), and he still held himself to be a Whig of that stamp. The Whig party had ceased to be Whigs. He was what he ever had been.

After a vote of thanks had been passed, with three cheers, to the President, and he had briefly responded, the Covention adjourned. As I am afraid you will not be able to find room for what I have already written, I must postpone my comments to a more convenient season.

D. Y.

The Home Journal, this sprightly and pleasant weekly newspaper published by Messrs. Morris and Willis, commences this week, a new volume. They announce that a rtanslation by N. P. Willis of one of George Sand's short novels will be commenced in the first number.

To Correspondents.

R. C. It is entirely out of print. The publisher has only a single copy which he will not part with. We believe, however, that No. 4 of the Anti-Slavery Magazine contains it. A copy of that we can not find here, but it may perhaps be had in B.

L. A. M'K. It is not forgotten, and is only neglected for want of funds. Many of the laborers engaged in the enterprise, he refers to work without hire, and are not willing or able to go so far from home.

J. F. We hope he will succeed, as we need all we have and many more. We are cheered also by the interest he expresses.

D. P. L. Yes: always, of course, subject to our judgment to reject or revise.

T. T. S. We can probably supply all that have been lost, if he will send us the numbers. Would he not prefer that his paper should be sent by the package to J. B. P.? We are glad to hear from him again.

E. Q. His first dispatch did not reach us until Wednesday morning. He will oblige us by mailing in B. when he posts later than Friday.

E. shall appear next week.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

SEVEN DAYS

LATER FROM EUROPE.

Arrival of the Cambria.

The steamer Cambria arrived at Boston on Friday last with advices from England to June 17th.

Trade continues dull. Money is plenty, and the Bank of England has reduced her rate of interest. The weather continues fine, and crops promising.

The demonstration of the Chartists on the 12th was an entire failure. At least 10,000 troops were in attendance, but the Chartists themselves wisely staid at home. Nevertheless, the Reform movement progresses rapidly, and additional efforts are making to increase the number of petitions as the time for Mr. Hume's motion approaches.

IRELAND.—The conjunction of the Old and Young Irelanders is not yet completed, and some difficulties have arisen in the way. Mr. John O'Connell rather doubts the propriety of merging the Repeal Association in a new League. Other leading men have expressed their dissent from the move ment. The Mitchel Fund increases, and meetings have been held in various places to express sympathy with the "Martyr Patriot."

FRANCE.—The news from France is interesting. The cry "*Vive la Republique!*" has given place, at least for the moment, to that of "*Vive Louis Napoleon!*"—"*vivent les Buonapartes!*" Great excitement had prevailed for several days in consequence of a new-born enthusiasm in behalf of Louis Napoleon, who had been returned a member of the Assembly from Paris. He was, at the time of his election, an absentee and was personally unknown to the people of Paris; having never been in the capital except one day. Neither was he started as a candidate until the day before the election, and even then he was announced, not in the ordinary way, by an address from himself to the electors, but merely in a street placard, issued, without any authority, by an individual so obscure that many suppose him to have been an imaginary person. Nevertheless, it is said that the peasants in the provinces, rushed by thousands to the ballot-box to give him their votes. So unexpected a turn of affairs naturally excited the apprehensions of the Government. 10 000 troops are collected in Paris, and how the affair may terminate is by no means certain.

The alarm was first given on Monday by the beating of the *vappel*, which, at first, only for a batallion soon became general. "Vive Louis Napoleon" was heard in the street, and the immense crowds collected on the Place de la Revolution, and the adjoining streets were dispersed with some difficulty by the troops. The debate in the Assembly was interesting and important. M. Pierre Bonaparte declared the patriotic disposition of Louis, and was replied to by Lamartine, who proposed the enforcement of the decree of banishment of 1816 against the Bonapate family, against Louis Bonaparte. It was carried.

On Tuesday also, the Assembly was occupied with the discussion of excluding Louis Napoleon. M. Louis Blanc opposed the measure as anti reupblican, as did others. After a long debate the Assembly, reversed its vote of the day before, and pronounced for the admission of Louis Napoleon as a representative of the people. Ledue Rollin, it was supposed, would resign, followed by Lamartine, but at the latest accounts, notwithstanding its defeat, the Executive still maintained its position, and the city was tranquil. During these three days, however the utmost confusion and excitement prevailed among the people, and many were looking with hope to the overthrow of the republic. The enthusiasm in behalf of Louis Napoleon is entirely because of his birth, as he is personally unknown to the French people, and is not supposed to be in any degree remarkable for talent. It was declared in the Assembly, in his behalf, that he had not taken any measures to act upon the people.

ITALY.—The annexation of Lombardy, Modena, Parma, Placenra and Guestalla to Piedmont has been proclaimed.

Married.

At Portland, 20th inst., by Rev. Dr. Nichols, CHARLES LIST, Esq., of Boston, to Miss HARRIET WINSLOW, of Portland.

Died.

May 18, at Plumstead, Captain F. W. Burgoyne, R.N., only surviving son of the late Lieut.-Gen. Sir J. Burgoyne, Bart., of Sutton Park, Bedfordshire.

On the 20th June, at the residence of his relation James Wheeler, Esq, in Orange county, JACOB D. WHEELER, Counsellor at Law of this city.

In New Bedford, Massachusetts, 17th instant, ANNA, wife of Andrew Robeson, and daughter of the late Samuel Rodman, aged 60.

In Fall River, 18th inst, REBECCA WALN, wife of Wm. R. Rodman, of New Bedford, and daughter of the late Thomas Morgan, of Philadelpbia, aged 53.

In Oberlin, June 5th, Miss LAURA MAHAN, a niece of Pres. M. aged 15 years and 7 months.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For the Standard—from June 5, to July 1, 1848.

468	Levi Farnsworth, Fitchburgh, Mass.		$2 00
457	Ladies A. S. Society, Dedham,	"	2 00
469	Dr. S. S. Whitney,	" "	2 00
469	Sophia Guild,	" "	2 00
472	Jos. W. Clarke,	" "	2 00
469	J. F. Richards,	" "	2 00
469	Mrs. S. Guild,	" "	2 00
469	Thos. T. Sherwin,	" "	2 00
469	Edward L. Keyes,	" "	2 00
469	Experience Stebbins, S. Wilbraham, Mass.		2 00
467	J. J. Smith, Albany N. Y.		1 00
470	John Washburn, Plymouth, Mass.		6 48
466	Lemuel Stephens	" "	1 00
470	H. N. Spooner,	" "	1 74
470	Thos. Spooner,	" "	1 74
470	Bourne Spooner,	" "	30
450	Clark Phinney, Chiltonville,	"	1 00
468	Concord Female A. S. S. Concord,	"	2 00
469	Amos White, Northbridge,	"	2 00
468	M. A. Cutter, Holliston,	"	1 00
468	Anna M. Bailey, New Bedford,	"	2 00
431	T. Harlow, Plymouth, Mass.		1 00
479	H. Carpenter, Upton,	"	1 00
417	E. B. Fay, Boston,	"	1 00
417	Samuel Curtis,	" "	1 00
417	James Knott,	" "	1 00
417	Dr. J. Flagg,	" "	4 64
417	J. Baxter,	" "	1 16
416	George P. Reed,	" "	2 00
416	W. E. Ayres,	" "	1 00
416	E. W. Bourne,	" "	1 00
416	G. W. Bond,	" "	1 00
420	W. B. Richards,	" "	1 00
416	W. Ritchie,	" "	1 00
417	J. H. Cheever,	" "	1 00
468	Samuel E. Sewell,	" "	4 00
468	T. B. Calrow,	" "	3 00
468	A. A. Andrews,	" "	3 00
468	I. & L. Daggett,	" "	1 00
449	Wm. J. Bowditch,	" "	3 00
469	J. Gardner,	" "	2 00
468	L. Osgood,	" "	4 00
468	W. W. Marjoram,	" "	3 00
468	Jno. Augustus,	" "	6 00
468	S B. Kendall.	" "	4 00
475	Chas. A. Smith,	" "	3 00
468	Elias Richards, Weymouth,	"	1 00
468	Atwood L. Grew, Plymouth,	"	1 00
468	Samuel Whiting,	" "	1 00
469	F. Morton,	" "	1 00
468	Miss Stephenson, Jamaica Plains,	"	3 00
431	Rev. N. Hall, Dorchester,	"	1 00
469	Wm. H. Channing, Boston,	"	2 00
458	Elbridge Sprague, Abington,	"	2 00
470	Rev. J. Thurston, Bellerica,	"	2 00
476	Nancy Babcock, Berlin.	"	2 00
469	Francis Jackson, Boston,	"	2 00
416	Dr. J. Morrell,	" "	25
468	M. Hutchinson, King's Ferry, N. Y.		1 00
467	P. Keese, Peru, N. Y.	"	2 00
458	Chas. Atkinson, Centre, Indiana,		1 00
468	E. W. Williams, Boston, Mass.		2 00
468	Henrietta Sargeant,	" "	2 00
417	Joseph Southwick,	" "	5 00
472	Daniel Haynes, Centre, Indiana,		1 00
469	Ezekiel Wood, Uxbridge, Mass.		2 00
469	E. W. Sampson, Dedham,	"	2 00
469	F. W. Bird, Walpole,	"	3 00
425	Wm. Turner, Ravenna, Ohio,		1 00
425	Robert Miller,	" "	1 00
431	S. Lathrop, Cambridgeport, Mass.		2 00
479	Anne W. Cotton, Boston,	"	2 00
424	F. Pendergast, Newburyport,	"	2 00
417	Wm B. Logan, Boston,	"	42
468	Aaron C. Macy, Hudson, N. Y.		2 00
468	Joseph Carpenter, New Rochelle, N. Y.		2 00
			126 31
	Total,		$176 31

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treas.

☞ NOTICE.—By the post-office law now in force, publishers of newspapers are permitted to send, in their papers to subscribers, bills *unreceipted*; but a *receipted* bill subjects the receiver to letter postage. Our subscribers, therefore, will find a bill, unreceipted of course, in their papers at the expiration of the time to which they have paid. The amount received for subscription is acknowledged above, and the *whole number* of the paper to which each subscriber has paid precedes his name.

NOTICES.

WANTED.—A place on a farm or at a trade, for an Irish lad, 15 years of age, who has recently arrived in this country. He is intelligent, active and willing to work, and would be a faithful and valuable apprentice to his employer.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE E. P. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of this Society will be held in the Baptist Church, in Norristown, commencing on Wednesday, the 9th day of August, and will probably continue during the next two days. To say to Pennsylvania Abolitionists, that this Meeting is an important occasion to our enterprize, is wholly unnecessary. Past experience has demonstrated this. We have only to urge upon them the duty of a punctual attendance upon its sessions. W. W. Brown, the well known and eloquent advocate of the slave's cause, and other friends from abroad, are expected to be present. But the attraction of the meeting, which we hope will bring together large numbers of our friends, is *the wants of the cause*, the importance of our enterprize; not to hear eloquent lips, or to meet distinguished strangers, but to deliberate and devise plans of action by which we may all work more effectively for the cause during the ensuing year; to strengthen our own and one another's hearts and hands. Business of importance, which should interest every member of the Society, will be transacted at the meeting, and we trust that none of the friends of the cause will permit a trifling reason to prevent their attendance.

JAMES MOTT, Chairman.

HAWORTH WETHERALD, Secretary.

ONE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS.

Eastern Series.

The Anti Slavery Conventions in the Eastern part of the State will be held as follows:

Gloucester.—Saturday and Sunday, July 1 and 2.
Abington. (Plymouth County.)—Tuesday, July 4.
East Bridgewater.—Thursday and Friday, July 6 and 7.

The above Conventions will be attended by PARKER PILLSBURY and WM. W. BROWN, Agents of the Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society, Miss LUCY STONE, and others, of which due notice may be expected, from time to time. For the meeting at Lawrence, see the official notice of the Secretary of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society.

Western Series.

The opening Convention of this series will be held at
Marlborough.—Thursday and Friday, June 29 and 30.
Berlin.—Saturday and Sunday, July 1 and 2.
Gardner.—Thursday and Friday, July 6 and 7.
Winchendon Village.—Saturday and Sunday, July 8 and 9.
Ashburnham.—Tuesday and Wednesday, July 11 and 12
Sterling.—Thursday and Friday, July 13 and 14.
Princeton.—Saturday and Sunday, July 15 and 16.

☞ The above Conventions will be attended by ADIN BALLOU, and others. Dr. E. D. HUDSON will attend the Conventions at Marlborough and Berlin. CHARLES L. REMOND will attend that at Gardner, and those following. Those held on Sunday will also be attended by STEPHEN S. and ABBEY K. FOSTER. The Conventions usually will not commence until the latter part of the day first named.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.
General Agent of the Mass. A. S. Society.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The sixth Annual Meeting of the WESTERN ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held at Salem, Columbiana county, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 16th, 17th, and 18th of August, commencing at 10 o'clock A. M.

Let a full representation of the slaves' friends come up on this occasion from all parts of the Great West. The political leaders are marshalling their hosts for a conflict. their followers are rallying by hundreds of thousands to the support of their party banners. Time and money and labour are expended to secure their object. And shall the friends of Freedom, whose faith should be strong in the power of Truth, be lukewarm and indifferent while politicians are so earnest in their labours, so untiring in their zeal? The events of the past year should encourage us to renewed effort, for every movement of importance which has been made, having a bearing upon the question of Slavery, foreshadows the destruction of the system, and the oppressors feel that it is so. The political parties will make a desperate effort to save themselves from the destruction their corruption has brought upon them; and the efforts of the Abolitionists to maintain and enforce the Right should be proportionally great. Arrangements should be made at the coming meeting to continue the Anti Slavery agitation by the lips of the living speaker, and to extend more widely the circulation of the Society's paper the Anti-Slavery Bugle. Let none of the friends who can be there, absent themselves for any light cause, for the presence of all, and the counsel of all is desirable.

Besides the friends of Liberty in the West who will be present on the occasion, HENRY C. WRIGHT and C. C. BURLEIGH, are expected to be in attendance and perhaps other representatives of the East.

LOT HOLMES,
Recording Secretary.

FIFTEENTH National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

The undersigned, earnestly desiring the abolition of Slavery, have been led, by the strength of their wish, carefully to consider what means may be found sufficient for the accomplishment of this great and holy object. They find that Slavery exists through the selfishness, the ignorance, the cowardice, the hypocrisy of the people. If the nation could be made more conscientious, disinterested, courageous, enlightened, and true to its own political and religious principles, the work were done. Until enough nobility of spirit can be awakened in the land to make the clergyman, the farmer, the lawyer, the mechanic, the merchant and the politician, willing to renounce their hopes of worldly success, and see their respective careers of individual advancement closed up, apparently forever, by their allegiance to Freedom;—to make the women of the land feel themselves disgraced by their indifference to such a cause as this;—to make the Christians and citizens of the land willing to bear the suffering and odium consequent upon an adherence to the right against law and custom:—until this can be accomplished, the Southern slaveholders are upheld in their sin by the powerful support of Christian fellowship, social sanction, and civil participation.

We determine, therefore, to strike at once at the root of Slavery, by appealing to the hearts and consciences of men and withdrawing their allegiance from such shameful cruelty and wrong, by the continual presentation of the paramount claims of Freedom and Humanity. Union being strength, that fact decides us to co-operate with any whose principles prove them to be trustworthy; who make the abolition of Slavery their primary object; and who, in addition to their honesty of purpose, have sense and sagacity enough to make them safe coadjutors, by securing them from becoming the prey of the selfish set of hypocritical adventurers that every moral revolution calls forth. We find such a sufficient and trustworthy body nowhere but in the American Anti Slavery Society. Years of close observation of its righteous principles and uncompromising practical workings, assure us that it has the elements of success. It continually sends forth lecturers to enforce the principles of justice and humanity among the people, and in a few years is found thereby to have exercised a controlling influence for good throughout the country. It dictates the course and bends the policy of every political party: and, speaking as it does from a height above their selfish personal struggles, its words of everlasting truth are heard, and more and more obeyed. While calling on all to unite with it, it has ever, by the energy and rectitude of its

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

ALAS THE CHURCHES!

Alas the churches! Christ, thy name,
Is now a stigma of disgrace;
And at its mention, burning shame,
Stamps its red brand-mark on my face.
Alas the churches! nearly all
In pride of solemn mockery stand,
Shrines of hypocrisy that call
For heaven's own judgments on the land!

Christian! that name did once denote
All that is purest, wisest, best,
Ere 'twas by vile pretenders brought,
To be the scoffers common jest;
Ere lust of power, and thirst of gold,
Had evil influences nurst,
And avarice religion sold,
To hallow deeds by God accurst!

Full many a foul and hideous blot
Stains the white banner of the cross;
The ore of truth is mixed with what
Turns its pure metal unto dross;
The stream of life polluted flows,
A scandal to the fountain head;
Corruption's weeds, beside it grow,
And taints with death the living bread?

Talk not of Himnon's vale of fire,
Of Moloch's cruel bloody fane,
Of heathenism's ritual dire,
Its bitter deaths, and lingering pain;
'Tho' the dark places of the earth
With cruelty are still replete,
Far, blacker horrors spring to birth,
O'ershadowed by Love's mercy seat.

Not history's voice or fiction's tongue,
Fancy or truth has power to tell,
Of real or imagined wrong,
Aught that can equal or excel
The vile atrocities, which speak
With trumpet voice from Slavery's page,
And, with their vast abundance, wake
The heart to pity, shame and rage!

Witness this truth, my weeping eyes
Which saw the miseries of the thrall,—
Witness my ears that heard their cries,
So oft in vain for pity call,—
Witness ye wretched beings, crush'd
Beneath the weight of Slavery's yoke
'Till nature's voice at last is hush'd
And man to beast of burden broke!

Rejoice O Hell! thy horrid fires
Are mingled with the altar's blaze,
Thy sulphury smoke to heaven aspires,
Where worship doth its incense raise;
The lash around the crosier clings,
Its knotted thongs all thick with gore,
And light its dazzling radiance flings,
But serves to guide aright no more.

Spirit of God, thy power reveal,
Come forth in thy resistless might,
Teach man renewed, for man to feel,
And power and knowledge aid the right;
Purge thou the churches everywhere,
From its pollutions cleanse the sod,
And true repentance teach to rear
Pure altars to the SAVIOUR,—GOD.

JAMES STILLMAN.

From "the [London] Puppet Show."

THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS.

AN ANTICIPATION.

Suggested by Beranger's "*Saint Alliance des Peuples.*"

The wars had ceased; the weary nations furled
Their tattered flags, and sheathed their blunted swords,
And sick of blood, the decimated world
Counted its scars, its glories, and rewards;
A little whisper, raised in doubt and fear,
Made an appeal to all the suffering lands;
Form an alliance holy and sincere,
And join, join hands

Old men left childless and disconsolate;
Widows forlorn, and maidens sorrow-crowned;
The children loitering at the cottage gate;
The young men mournful, gazing on the ground,
Joined in the cry, lamenting, yet of cheer—
Repeating ever: O, ye ruined lands!
Form an alliance holy and sincere.
And join, join hands!

The plowman, singing in the early morn,
Stopped in his task and shuddered to behold—
Through the long furrows for the future corn—
Half-buried sculls projecting from the mold;
Bones of his brethren scattered far and near;
And sadly gazing sighed, Unhappy lands!
Form an alliance holy and sincere,
And join, join hands!

The whisper spread—it gathered as it went—
From crowd to crowd the aspiration flew;
Distracted Europe stanched the wounds that rent
Her bleeding bosom, pierced at Waterloo;
Her wisest sons with voices loud and clear,
Took up the words and bore them o'er the lands;
Form an alliance holy and sincere,
And join, join hands!

Why should ye drag, said they, the furious car
Of blind Ambition? Why with sweat and moil,
Follow the panting demi-gods of War,
And with your blood make runnels through the soil?
Long have ye suffered—long in mad career
Borne fire and sword and sorrow through the lands;
Form an alliance holy and sincere,
And join, join hands!

Sheathed be the sword forever—let the drum
Be schoolboy's pastime—let your battles cease,
And be the cannon's voice forever dumb,
Except to celebrate the joys of peace.
Are ye not brothers? God, whom ye revere,
Is he not Father of climes and lands?
Form an alliance holy and sincere,
And join, join hands!

The words grew oracles; from mouth to mouth
Rapid as light the truthful accents ran;
From the cold Norland to the sunny South—
From East to West they warmed the heart of man;
The prosperous people with a sound of cheer
Passed the glad watchword through the smiling lands
Form an alliance holy and sincere,
And join, join hands.

They spread, they flew, they fructified apace;
The spear and sword hung rusting on the walls,
Preserved as relics of a bygone race
When men went mad, and gloried in their brawls:
Peace, the fair mother of each bounteous year,
Dropped corn and wine on the prolific lands.
Form an alliance holy and sincere.
And join, join hands!

England forget her deeds of battle done;
France blushed at "glory" gained in fields of gore;
German, Italian, Spaniard, Pole, and Hun
Taught Kings a lesson and were foes no more;
Knowledge achieved the circuit of our sphere,
And Love became the gospel of the lands—
When that alliance holy and sincere,
Had joine all hands.

Miscellany.

From the British Quarterly Review,

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF CHARLES LAMB.

Early in the present century, there was, every Wednesday evening, in very humble quarters in the Temple, a snug little *réunion*, to which one would rather have been admitted than to any dozen brilliant conversaziones which London could offer. Nothing could be simpler than the entertainment; it had none of the attractions of wealth, of fashion, or of celebrity. It was never chronicled in the *Morning Post*. What was said and done there, afforded no food to idle *on dits*. No magnificent flunkies lined the staircase, and roared your name from one to the other, trumpeting your arrival. You were not ushered into a blaze of light, amidst jewels, plumes, and rustling dresses, crowding beneath chandeliers. It was a very small room, dimly lighted, modest in its appearance, the walls graced with an engraving or two, and a famous head of Milton, the possessor's pride. A quiet rubber, the solemnity of which was from time to time relieved by quaint "quips, and cranks, and wanton wiles;" a plain clay pipe; a crust of bread and cheese—perhaps oysters; a foaming tankard of porter, and a glass of ginger wine: these were all that hospitality could offer, but they were offered hospitably. The champaigne was in the talk; and to hear them was worth the sacrifice of any entertainments.

The guests were various, but all "choice spirits." There you might see gentle George Dyer, as scholarly and simple as Parson Adams. There also Manning, with his burning ardour, and great mathematical science. There Leigh Hunt, with overflowing animal spirits, quoting, misquoting, punning, and criticising—bold, yet timid; his audacity in speculation always restrained by constitutional timidity, which made him do away (in a parenthesis) with the very purpose of his opinion. There his fierce, irascible, dogmatic, acute, honest-hating, honest-loving, paradoxical, friend Hazlitt, by turns giving vent to some political vehemence, and to some delicate criticism on painting—describing with gusto, and analyzing with startling acuteness. There also Coleridge, fat, florid, indolent, dreaming, silver-haired, and silver-tongued, pouring forth rivers of talk, on the banks of which grew lovely wild flowers of all kinds; discoursing blandly and poetically on all the "high arguments" which can interest mankind, but coming to no definite conclusion on any one of them: always intending to accomplish great works, never writing them; weak, selfish, and dreamy; his fascinating talents somewhat tinged with moral *cant;* a great powerless power, an amorphous genius. There Wordsworth, rough in manner, stern in morals, cold, prosing, didactic, but surrounded by a halo of poetic glory; having left his mountains for a few weeks of London fog and sociality. There Godwin, the audacious theorist, dreaming of perfectibility and political justice; cold, grave, and oracular; uttering paradoxes with the passionless air of deliberative wisdom; rigid at the whist table; admitting no aristocracy but that of letters; receiving all opinions opposed to his own with silent scorn and exasperating superiority; unmoved by the convulsions of society; "a ruler of the spirits"—"the central calm at the heart of all agitation." There Tallourd, then a struggling barrister and flowery essayest, soon to become an eminent barrister and flowery poet. There also Holcroft, the author of the "Road to Ruin," having risen from the bottom of the social scale to an eminent position in the world of letters—having passed the strangest and most chequered of lives; the son of a hawking pedler, always roaming, always changing his means of livelihood: now employed as an infant to lead a donkey to a coal-pit, there to get it loaded, and then conduct it home; now taken as a stable boy at a trainer's, there to store up materials for "Goldfinch:" now setting up a school with one scholar; now trying to be a cobbler; now joining strolling players, and at last succeeding as a dramatic author: marrying four wives; indicted for high treason on the most frivolous grounds, owing to the arbitrary measures "when George the Third was king;" acquitted, but ever afterwards damaged in reputation, being looked upon as an "acquitted felon;" and now finally having passed through all these vicissitudes, and settled into old age, still writing feeble comedies, translating from the German, and dabbling in pictures;

The central figure of this group, the host, who numbered all these various men of genius and talent as his friends, and who, differing from all, yet sympathized with all, was Charles Lamb, perhaps, on the whole, the most interesting of the set.

"Charles Lamb, to those who know thee justly dear
For rarest genius, for sterling worth,
Unchanging friendship, warmth of heart sincere,
And wit that never gave an ill thought birth."

So sang Robert Southey, with more truth than felicity; and so would every heart respond. As a writer, whose place is forever conquered in our literature; and as a character, full of piquant contrast and matter for study, we shall not be blamed, we trust, for occupying the reader's time, for a brief while, in endeavouring to present some of the characteristics of his genius.

"*Die Gestalt des Menschen,*" says Geothe, "*ist der Text zu allem was sich über ihn emp finden und sagen lässt.*"* This is peculiarly applicable to Charles Lamb. The contrasts of his organization were reflected in his mind. He was an oddity in appearance and in manner; uniting contrasts in the subtlest way imaginable. He had a head worthy of Aristotle, but it was placed upon a *shadowy stem*, (to use Talfourd's happy description,) so fragile, so puny was the body which sustained it. His features were strongly, yet delicately cut. Over an expanded forehead, black hair crisply curled. His dark eyes twinkled with varying expression, though the prevalent feeling was sadness. His nose was of the jewish cut; indeed, clad in his clerk-like black, with his Oriental style of feature, his delicate organization, and sweetness of demeanor, he presented an appearance very much like what he describes Braham's to be, "a compound of the Jew, the gentleman, and the angel."

Hitherto we have taken only the favourable view of him—the painter's view. But, besides what the artist transfers to his canvass, there is always an indefinite something which he cannot transfer; and hence the reason why painters are said to flatter, and also why they always fail in representing wholly those whom we greatly admire or greatly love. Charles Lamb is only half portrayed as yet. To the above must be added a certain oddity of look and manner—a something tantamount to his stammering. It was not disagreeable; rather let us call it quaint—individual.

Good simple King Duncan says—

"There is no art
To read the mind's construction in the face," &c.

It is a subtle touch of Shakspeare's to make the man just deceived by one he trusted, draw a general conclusion from a particular instance, such as the above; but no one could look in Charles Lamb's face without reading there the lineaments of the "mind's construction." The mixture of intellect and feeling; of reasoning and sensibility; of wit, humour, and sadness; of innocence and knowingness; of gentleness and brusquerie, stamped itself legibly upon his features.

The affection he inspired, together with the real unobtrusive kindness of his nature, has led his friends and critics into an oversight which it is necessary we should notice. So much stress has been laid upon his "gentleness," that the other part of his character—his recklessness and brusquerie—has been overlaid.

"My gentle-hearted Charles?"

is the apostrophe of Coleridge, in one of his poems; and to show how deserved was the epithet, let us recall the testimony of his school-fellow, Mr. Le Grice, who says, "I never heard his name mentioned without the addition of Charles, although, as there was no other boy of the name of Lamb, the addition was unnecessary; but there was an implied kindness in it, and it was a proof that his gentle manners excited kindness." Gentle he undoubtedly was; and a gentle spirit lends its grace to all his writings. But there was also a whimsical recklessness which would occasionally beset him. To give an instance; he dined one day at the house of a friend of ours, and on entering the drawing-room, after dinner, saw a gentleman standing in the middle of the room, whose bent shoulders, in school-boy leap-frog phrase, "made a back;" the temptation was too great for Lamb; he placed his hands on the unconscious victim, and "flew" over his head, to the astonished indignation of many, and amusement of the few. This perhaps may be called a mere disregard to the proprieties of time and place; but Lamb was at times less excusably aggressive. He was fond of startling people on sacred subjects; though really religious himself, he liked to play with the religious scruples of others. In the same way he reversed the process on those who held skeptical opinions. We have heard a friend of his say, that whenever Godwin broached any infidel doctrines in Lamb's room, Lamb would check him by pointing to a volume of sermons on the shelf, which Godwin had written early in life. But to return to his aggressiveness: his love of practical joking is surely a strong proof. His jokes were more ludicrous than malicious, and in this they differ from ordinary practical jokes; nor do we wish much stress to be laid on them, but they indicate, as we said, a certain aggressive tendency, which must be taken as a set-off against his gentleness. While on this subject, and because, like the former anecdotes, it has not been made public, we may relate the story of his first meeting with Thomas Carlyle.—Lamb was never partial to the Scotch,* and on this evening he was more than usually offensive in his remarks on their character; but when supper appeared, and a bowl of porridge was placed before Carlyle, Lamb's jokes and remarks upon it were so insulting, as almost to lead to an open quarrel. Even Lamb's friend, from whom we had the story, could say nothing in his justification; his behavour was wantonly offensive.

The epithet "gentle" was not the less merited because of these occasional outbreaks; and we should be sorry, if our endeavour to represent more accurately the man, should lead any one to suppose that he was not as kind and gentle as his writings. Even in his writings there are outbreaks:

"And as round mountain tops the lightning plays,
Thus innocently sported, breaking forth
As from a cloud of some grave sympathy,
Humour and wild instinctive wit, and all
The vivid flashes of his spoken words."

So Wordsworth. Leigh Hunt gives another and a truer explanation:—"His sensibility to strong contrasts is the foundation of his humour, which is that of a wit at once melancholy and willing to be pleased. He will beard a superstition, and shudder at the old phantasm while he does it. One could imagine him cracking a jest in the teeth of a ghost, and melting into thin air himself out of sympathy with the awful."

Lamb was heart and soul a Londoner. Dr. Johnson himself was not more so. Although he passed the greater part of his life as clerk in the India House—doomed to the desk in murky Leadenhall-street, yet he had no yearnings for the country. He was not the man to sing—

"I care not fortune, what you me deny
You cannot rob me of sweet Nature's face," etc.

Johnson said: "When you have seen one green field, you have seen all green fields. Sir, I like to look upon mankind; let us walk down Fleet-street." Lamb said the same; he was, as Tolfourd prettily says of him, "formed to nestle rather than to roam." In a letter to Southey, he says:—

"I have a timid imagination, I am afraid. I do not willingly admit of strange beliefs, or out-of-the-way creeds or places. I never read books of travels; at least, not further than Paris or Rome. I can just endure Moors, because of their connexion as foes with Christians; but Abyssinians, Ethiops, Esquimaux, Dervises, and all that tribe I hate. I believe I fear them in some manner. A Mohamedan turban on the stage, though enveloping some well-known face, (Mr. Cook or Mr. Maddox, whom I see another day good Christians and English waiters, inn-keepers, &c) does not give me pleasure unalloyed. I am a Christian, Englishman, Londoner, *Templar*."

And again, in a letter from Enfield to Wordsworth:—

"Here we have nothing to do with our victuals but to eat them; with the garden but to see it grow; with the tax gatherer but to hear him knock; with the maid but to hear her scolded. Scot and lot, butcher, baker, are things unknown to us, save as spectators of the pageant. We are fed we know not how: quietists—*confiding ravens*. We have the *otium pro dignitate*, a respectable insignificance. Yet in the self-condemned obliviousness, in the stagnation, some molesting yearnings of life, not quite killed, rise, prompting me that there was London, and that I was of that old Jerusalem. In dreams I am in Fleet Market, but I wake and cry to sleep again. I die hard, a stubborn Eloisa in this detestable Paroclete. What have I gained by health? intolerable dullness. What by early hours and moderate meals? a total blank. O! never let the lying poets be believed, who vice men from the cheerful haunts of streets, or think they mean it not of a country village. In the ruins of Palmyra, I could gird myself up to solitude, or muse to the snorings of the Seven Sleepers; but to have a little teazing image of a town about one; country folks that do not look like country folks; shops two yards square; half a dozen apples and two penn'orths of overlooked gingerbread for the lofty fruiterers of Oxford-street: and for the immortal book and print stalls, a circulating library that stands still, where the show picture is a last year's valentine, and whither the fame of the last ten Scotch novels has not yet travelled—(marry, they just begin to be conscious of the Redgauntlet;) to have a new plastered flat church, and to be wishing that it was but a cathedral! The very blackguards here are degenerate; the topping gentry stock-brokers; the passengers too many to insure your quiet, or let you go about whistling or gaping; too few to be the fine indifferent pageants of Fleet street. Confining, room-keeping, thickest winter, is yet more bearable here than the gaudy months. Among one's books, at one's fire, by candle, one is soothed into an oblivion that one is not in the country; but with the light the green fields return, till I gaze, and in a calenture can plunge myself into St. Giles. O! let no native Londoner imagine that health, and rest and innocent occupation, interchange of converse sweet, and recreative study, can make the country anything better than altogether odious and detestable. A garden was the primitive prison, till man, with Promethean felicity and boldness, luckily sinned himself out of it. Thence followed Babylon, Nineveh, Venice, London, haberdashers, goldsmiths, taverns, playhouses, satires, epigrams, puns,—these all came in on the town part, and the thither side of innocence."

Nor was this the feeling of a moment; it was his taste through life. He had no eye for the picturesque. Human nature, in its miseries, infirmities, its virtues, and socialities, was what lovingly attracted him; and he liked towns because they spoke of man. In the same way he loved books. Mere descriptive passages mere caprices of fancy, except in the authors he loved, were lost upon him. He cared nothing for theories; speculations on the great questions of philosophy and religion never troubled him, and he humorously describes Proclus (Coleridge having asked him to procure a copy) as one of those books, the lid of which he shut faster than he opened it. But the dramatists were his especial favourites. He saw no flaw in them. To his guileless mind their reckless disregard of the boundaries of morality and decency was nothing but the sportive freedom of imagination. He has written a most elaborate and ingenious defence of the comic dramatists of the restoration, upon the ground that they were dealing with the fictitious world of wit, and ought not to be measured by the ordinary standards of morality, because they treated not of actual life. No one but himself could have written this; no one but himself could believe it. Besides the dramatists, he also loved the old humourists and moralists; was fodd of Quaker folios, because they led him into a quaint, honest world; and had an especial regard for all *old* books. He had the spirit of an antiquary, not the grubbing patience, not the inordinate appreciation of minute points, which accompanies the antiquarian spirit. He was not a Cockletop; he was not a Ritson. To discover that some obscure man was born on the 16th of May, and not, as generally supposed, on the 18th, inspired him with no thrill of delight, nor did it make him assume contemptuous airs toward the ignorant rest of mankind.

A book was not better in his eyes than all other books, because it was older and more illegible; but in that affectionate regard for the mysterious past, in that lingering over the fragments of the ruined edifice, in that endeavour to reanimate in his mind the times which had been, and were no more, he showed the antiquarian spirit in its true aspect. He loved to recall the scenes of his boyhood, to live over again the emotions which had agitated his youthful heart; and in the same backward-looking spirit, he threw himself into the bygone years of his country's life. It was no affectation in him; it was the bias of his mind. Without the strong pulse of hope, without the forward-looking speculations of philosophy, he was more proud to recall than to prophesy.* His very style was tinged with an archaic hue; and this, not as a matter of literary artifice, but because his thoughts themselves had that colour. His careless letters show it quite as plainly as his studied essays.

A great reader, he cared little for modern books; the only contemporary writings which interested him were those of his personal friends. Scott's novels had no attraction for him; but Fielding, Smollet and Richardson he read over and over again. Shelley could not win a word from him.—Byron moved him not. But how he fondled an old folio! how he hugged some time-hallowed quarto! Wisdom only spoke to him authoritatively when gray hairs gave it authority. The feeling which lies at the bottom of our great admiration for old books, and which causes us to exaggerate their merits, has yet to be analyzed. There cannot be a doubt that we are more struck by a shrewd remark in an ancient writer, than by a profound remark in a modern.—Is not this the effect of *unconscious surprise?* Do we not, in reading an old treatise, sit down prepared to make all sorts of allowances, which we never accord to a modern? The modern writer speaks, or ought to speak from the fullness of all time; his predecessors ought to have enriched him by the legacy of their wealth, and this makes us critical in our demands. But the ancient writer we read *as* ancient; his prosiness we forgive, his mistakes seem excusable, his very infirmaties have something of the veneration due to age, while his beauties not only stand out prominent from the dull back ground, but surprise us with their existence. The other day we were looking over our Plato, and the passages marked by an approving pencil, though certainly often happy, and sometimes remarkable, were assuredly passages which in a modern author few pencils would have paused to indicate; moreover, compared with the quantity of unmarked passages, and its small *intrinsic* value, (apart from the charm of language and the *historical* value of these remnants of antiquity,) it seemed to us that the passages admired owed no little to the effect of contrast† This led us into the train of thought expressed above. If it be just—if we do read ancient authors with a secret understanding that they had not the same advantages as moderns, we shall easily understand how the defection of great beauties in an old book leads the reader into an exaggerated estimate of its superiority. And this was Charles Lamb's feeling. He liked old books because he forgave their faults and admired their beauties; and he liked them because they were old. He liked the nonsense of Sir Thomas Browne (set off as it was by glorious glimpses of wisdom) better than any modern sense; it was old, quaint, and had a perfume of antiquity about it. This feeling is amusingly exhibited in a letter to Bernard Barton—the charming Quaker poet—who wrote to him about a proposed edition of "The Pilgrim's Progress," illustrated by Martin:—

"A splendid edition of Bunyan's Pilgrim!" he exclaims; "why, the thought is enough to turn one's moral stomach. His cocked hat and staff transformed to a smart cocked beaver and a jemmy cane; his amise grey to the last Regent-street cut; and his painful palmer's pace to the moderate swagger. Stop thy friend's sacrilegious hand. Nothing can be done for B, but to reprint the old cuts in as homely, but good a style as possible. The Vanity Fair and the pilgrims there—the lilly smoothness in his setting out countenance—the Christian idiocy (in a good sense) of his admiration of the shepherds on the Delectable Mountains; the Lions *so truly allegorical and remote from any similitude to Pidcock's.*

Here the unintentional imperfections of the old book are transmuted by affection into absolute merit; and so we may say of all other drawbacks which an unprejudiced eye might detect. It is worth nothing that this thoroughgoing partizanship was carried by Lamb into his friendships. He did not love his friends in spite of their faults—he loved them, faults and all. While on the subject of his antiquarianism, we cannot resist one witticism he uttered, when his sonnet was rejected as not sufficiently delicate for Annual readers: "Hang the age!" he exclaimed, "*I will write for antiquity!*" As a wind-up on this subject, let us give what he says on Burnet's History:—

"I am reading "Burnet's Own Times." Did you ever read that garrulous pleasant history? He tells his story like an old man past political service, bragging to his sons on winter evenings of the part he took in public transactions, when his "old cap was new." Full of scandal, which all true history is.—No palliatives: but all the stark wickedness that actually gives the *momentum* to national actors. Quite the prattle of age and outlived importance. Truth and sincerity staring out upon you perpetually in *alto relievo*. Himself a party man, he makes you a party man. None of the cursed philosophical Humeian indifference, so cold and unnatural, and inhuman! None of the cursed Gibbonian fine writing, so fine and composite. None of Dr. Robertson's periods with three members. None of Mr. Roscoe's sage remarks, all so opposite, and coming in so clever, lest the reader should have had the trouble of drawing an inference. Burnet's good old prattle I can bring present to my mind; I can make the revolution present to me—the French Revolution, by a converse perversity in my nature, I fling as far *from* me."

* "A man's personal appearance is the text for all that can be said of him, or felt about him."—*Stella.*

* Compare his beautiful essay on New Year's Eve.

† No one, we hope, will interpret this into any disparagement of Plato; it is only saying, that read by the light which Plato himself spread abroad, his works are less important to us than they are to those for whom he wrote them.

THE RATTLE-SNAKE.

Mr. Audubon and Dr. Bachman have lately published vol. 1, of the letter press of their splendid work "*The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America.*" We make the following extract:—

"This snake, the most venomous known in North America, subsists wholly on animal food; it digests its food slowly, and is able to exist without any sustenance for months, or even years in confinement; during this time it often increases in size, and the number of its rattles is augmented. In its natural state it feeds on rabbits, squirrels, rats, birds, or any other small animals that may come in the way. It captures its prey by lying in wait for it, and we have heard of an instance in which one of these snakes remained coiled up for two days before the mouth of the burrow of the Florida rat, and on its being killed, was found to have swallowed one of these quadrupeds.

"As far as we have been able to ascertain, it always strikes its intended prey with its fangs, and thus kills it before swallowing it. The bite is sudden, and although the victim may run a few yards after it is struck, the serpent easily finds it when dead. Generally the common species of the rattle-snake refuses all food when in a cage, but occasionally one is found which does not refuse to eat while in captivity. When a rat is turned loose in a cage with one of these snakes, it does not immediately kill it, but often leaves it unmolested for days and weeks together. When, however, the reptile prompted either by irritation or hunger, designs to kill the animal, it lies in wait for it, cat-like, or gently crawls up to it, and suddenly gives it the mortal blow, after which it very slowly and deliberately turns it over into a proper position and finally swallows it.

"We have seen a rattle-snake in a very large cage, using every means within its power and exerting its cunning for a whole month, before it could succeed in capturing a brown thrush, that was imprisoned with it. At night the bird roosted beyond the reach of the snake, and during the daytime, it was too cautious in its movements and too agile—snatching up its food at intervals and flying instantly back to its perch—to be struck by the unwieldy serpent. We now added a mouse to the number of the inmates of the cage; the affrighted animal retreated to a corner, where the snake, slowly crawling up to it, with a sudden blow darted his fangs into it and killed it; soon after which he swallowed it. About a week after this adventure, the snake again resumed his attempts to capture the thrush and pursued it all around the cage.

"This experiment afforded a fair opportunity for the rattle-snake to exert its powers of fascination, had it possessed any; but as it did not exhibit them, we do not hesitate to say that it was entirely destitute of any faculty of the kind.

"After some hours' of fruitless manœuvering, the snake coiled itself up, near the cup of water from which the bird drank. For two days the thrush avoided the water; on the third, having become very thirsty, it showed a constant desire to approach the cup; the snake waited for it to come within reach, and in the course of the day struck at it two or three times; the bird darted out of its way, however, and it was not killed until the next day.

"If notwithstanding these facts, it is argued that the mysterious and inexplicable power of *fascination* is possessed by the snake, because birds have been seen to approach it, and with open wings and plaintive voice, seemed to wait upon its apetite, we must be prepared to admit that the same faculty is possessed by other animals. On a certain day, we saw a mocking bird, exhibiting every appearance usually, according to descriptions witnessed when birds are under the influence of fascination. It approached a hog, which was occupied in munching something at the foot of a small cedar. The bird fluttered before the grunter with open wings, uttered a low and plaintive note, alighted on his back, and finally began to peck at his snout. On examining into the cause of these strange proceedings, we ascertained that the mocking-bird had a nest in the tree from which several of her younglings had fallen, which the hog was eating. Our friend, the late Dr. Wright, of Troy, informed us that he witnessed a nearly similar scene between a cat-bird and a dog, which had disturbed her brood, on which occasion the cat-bird went through many of the movements generally ascribed to the effect of fascination."

KEEPING COOL IN HOT WEATHER.—*Chamber's Edinburg Journal* gives the following devices in hot climates and seasons:

The means in present use for artificial refrigeration are very various, some of them very interesting.—Among these the employment of porous earthenware may receive an early place. The Moors introduced into Spain this luxury, in the shape of very elegant vases, wonderfully light and porous. Water kept in these became rapidly deliciously cool, and from some peculiarity in the process of the manufacture of the vesels, it acquired, in addition, a very agreeable flavour. In Egypt and in India, and in most sultry regions, this expedient is at the present time, a very prevalent one. It has also, for some time, been extensively employed amongst ourselves—porous wine, butter, and water coolers, of many elegant designs being now produced at our potteries. But porous ware keeps water coolest where the climate is hottest, the very increment of heat being made to react in the reproduction of cold by rapid evaporation. The Moorish names for their earthern jugs were *Alcameros* or *Bucarros*. The Arabs, burnt up with the eternal fire of their scorching country, make use of goat skins for water vessels, which suffer a little water slowly to exude, and thus keep the remainder comparatively cool. A common method of cooling wines in India is one which will almost appear a paradox: the bottle is wrapped in flannel wetted with water, and placed directly in the rays of the sun; violent evaporation ensues, and the wine actually becomes very cold.

It is a common plan, too, for sailors in warm latitudes to cover their wines with cloths constantly wetted. Apartments are cooled on a similar principle, and an abundance of water is frequently dashed against the walls with a most grateful effect. In India, also, the cold, so dangerous and penetrating on a clear night, is often applied in a peculiar manner, for the purpose of freezing water. Near Calcutta, in an open plain, there are large shallow excavations made in the ground and filled with straw: upon this, many rows of small shallow, porous pans filled with water are placed at sunset. During the night, ice forms in thin cakes upon the surface of the pans; it is carefully removed before sunrise, carried to a proper repository, and pounded into a mass there, and then covered over with blankets. This manufacture can only be pursued during the months December, January, and February; and in the district where the ice is formed in this manner it is never produced naturally. This ingenious process must wholly disappear before the new import of Wenham Lake ice. What a revolution has commerce effected in India, when we remember that early travellers in that country were looked upon as liars and imposters for asserting the possibility of solidifying water into ice.

THE MODEL HUSBAND.—He walks out with his wife on a week day, and is not afraid of a milliner's shop. He even has "change" when asked for it and never alludes to it afterwards. He is not above carrying a large brown paper parcel, or a cotton umbrella, or the clogs, or even holding the baby in his lap in an omnibus. He runs on first to knock at the door when it is raining. He goes outside when the cab is full. He goes to bed first in cold weather. He will get up in the middle of the night to rock the cradle or to answer the door bell. He allows his mother-in-law to stop in the house. He eats cold meat without a murmer, or pickles, and is indifferent about pies and puddings. The cheese is never too strong, nor the beer too small, or the tea too weak for him. He patches up a quarrel with a velvet gown, and drives away the sulks with a trip to Epsom, or a gig in the Park,—goes to church regularly, and takes his wife to the opera once a year. He never flies about his buttons, or brings home friends to supper. He clashes never smell of tobacco. He respects the curtains, and never smokes in the house. He respects the fiction of his wife's age, and would as soon burn his fingers as touch the bright poker. He never invades the kitchen, and would no more think of blowing up any of the servants than of ordering the dinner, or having the tray brought up after eleven. He is innocent of a latch key.

He lets the family go out of town once every year, whilst he remains at home with one knife and fork, sits on a brown holland chair, sleeps on a curtainless bed, and has a charwoman to wait on him. He goes down on Saturday and comes up on Monday, taking with him the clean linen and bringing back the dirty clothes. He checks the washing bills. He pays the housekeeping money without a suspicion, and shuts his eyes upon the "sundries."—*Punch.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

The English actors have petitioned the Queen to forbid French players to act at Drury Lane.

The number of English artizans and mechanics who have been obliged to leave France since the revolution of February is upwards of 7,000.

Sir Walter Scott, for the whole of his writings, now comprised in 80 volumes, received not less than £250,000.

PULMONARY PRACTICE.—Curran's ruling passion was his joke. In his last illness, his physician observing in the morning that he seemed to cough with more difficulty he answered, "That is rather surprising, as I have been practising all night."

In a newly published pamphlet Mr. Hind states that he expects the return, in the present year, of the very remarkable comet which startled the world in 1264, and which he maintains appeared again in 1556.

MAGNANIMITY.—A writer in the May number of the *Free Church Magazine* says: "We do not say that all who are opposed to capital punishments are infidels.

TRIPLE INTOXICATION.—M. d'Arpentigny (*Medical Times*) represents Germany as exalted by the triple intoxication of contemplation, music and tobacco. People live gravely there, and dream enormously. They drink out of large glasses; they read large books.

Mr. B. Parsons (in the *Teetotal Times*) seems to think it not particularly to the credit of the National character that the British empire voluntarily expends three millions yearly on its religious institutions, including missions, and one hundred millions on its strong drink.

GLASS WATER-PIPES.—The Town Council of Plymouth have resolved on laying down glass water-pipes, for the supply of water to the town. The average duration of pipes made of cast iron is about ten years, it is said: while glass is not liable to corrosion or abrasion at all, and will thus, it is calculated, more than pay its original cost.—*Builder.*

"Captain Judkins, of the *America*," says the *Liverpool Albion*, "on leaving this port for the United States, on the 15th April, ordered his dinner to be ready at his hotel, on his return from America, at six on the 22d ult. and was there within five minutes of the time."

A New York correspondent of the *Sligo Champion* says: "A hatred of England is a master passion in the American breast. The sack of Washington is yet to be avenged." It was avenged last year in the most Christian manner, in ships laden with corn for the famishing.

The *Lancet* says, a mixture of two parts of the liquid ammonia of commerce, with one of some simple tincture, is recommended as a remedy for tooth-ache, so often uncontrollable. A piece of lint is dipped into this mixture, and then introduced into the carious tooth, when the nerve is entirely cauterized, and the pain stopped. It is supposed to act by neutralizing an acid product in the decaying tooth.

FEMALE CHARTIST ASSOCIATION.—A Society composed exclusively of women, called the Female Chartist Association, has been established in Bethnal-Green; it has upwards of 1,500 enrolled members. They hold weekly meetings at a public house, the Secretary, Charlotte Rees, attending to receive new members. A female Chair-woman is elected, and the orators are exclusively women. They are about, it is said, to convey in procession, a petition in favour of the Charter, to her Majesty at Buchingham Palace.

ABROGATION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.—Some weeks back, a writer in the *Nation* contended for the abrogation of the English language in Ireland. We give, from Mr. O'Neill Daunt's book, O'Connell's opinion on the subject. Some one asked him (at a party at Sir Bulwer Lytton's, in 1833,) whether the use of the Irish language was diminishing amongst the Irish peasantry? "Yes," he answered, and I am sufficiently utilitarian not to regret its gradual abandonment. A diversity of tongues is no benefit; it was imposed on mankind as a curse at the building of Babel."

EDUCATION IN WALES.—"Gentlemen, (of the Carmarthenshire petty jury) have you all agreed as to your verdict?" "Yes, ten of us for the plaintiff, and two for the defendant." "You must retire again, gentlemen, you must be unanimous.' The jury retired, and returned in ten minutes. "Gentlemen, have you agreed as to your verdict?" "Yes, all of us for the defendant!"

NOBLE DESCENT.—The modern *noblesse*, who boasts of possessing conical, small and pointed hands, and at the same time claim a descent from the hard spatular handed race of the ninth and tenth centuries, claim what is incompatible, and therefore impossible. Every gentleman really and lineally descended from the "*noblesse* of the sword" must of necessity have the spatular hand. If, on the contrary, his hand be fine and pointed, he must trace his origin to the cloisters—the monks and the abbés.—*M. d'Arpentigny, (Medical Times.)*

M. MAZZINI.—We have been requested to give publicity to the following letter:—Sir,—As the most absurb and malicious rumours are circulated by Mazzini's enemies, such as—he is in prison, and that he had to make his escape from Italy for protesting against the proposed union between Lombardy and Piedmont, you would greatly oblige by just noticing in your paper that Mazzini is at Milan, and is editor of a daily paper, entitled "L'Italia del Popolo," in whose first number appeared the protest, which, far from being treated as stated at Genoa, was copied into all the newspapers at Milan, among them the official journal "Il 22 Marzo," which likewise answered the protest, and avowed the right of all to express their opinion on such an important subject.—*Examiner.*

SITTING OF THE WOMEN'S CLUB.—The sitting of the Club des Femmes (Women's Club) on Thursday was extremely tempestuous. The question before it was the exciting one of divorce. The bureau, which is composed of the committee for editing the *Voix des Femmes*, declared itself strongly in favour of the opinion of M. Cremieux; but the meeting was divided in sentiments, and the debate soon degenerated into a dispute, not to say a squabble, so that no resolution could be come to. On coming out, the members of the club were received with loud, but somewhat equivocal cheers by a large assemblage of the male sex, who formed a passage for them to pass through. The joking was not the most delicate in the world. We can only indicate their nature by the following extract from *Galignani*: "As the she-clubbists left they were assailed by the jokes and hootings of a vast crowd; and a proposition was made to inflict on them the correction generally applied to children, but a timely flight enabled them to escape this indignity."

MR. MITCHEL.—Mr. Mitchel is on his way to Bermuda. The *Scourge* steamer reached Spike Island on Wednesday to convey him to his destination. The necessary order to deliver him to the custody of the commander of the *Scourge* had been previously received by the governor of the depot at Spike Island. The *Dublin Evening Post* gives a positive and authorized contradiction to the statements that have been published to the effect that Mr. Mitchel has been treated with cruelty. That journal says: "Mr. Hitchins, of the Chief Secretary's office, as superintendent of convicts, attended on the departure of the *Shearwater* on Saturday last. On arriving on board, that gentleman introduced himself to Mr. Mitchel, and assured him that he should receive every indulgence consistent with his safe custody. On Mr. Mitchel referring to the irons, which were merely on one leg, Mr. Hitchens promised, on the understanding that no improper use should be made of the indulgence, that Mr. Mitchel's wishes for their removal should be acceded to, and in about a quarter of an hour afterwards they were taken off by the policeman in charge. Mr. Hitchins also directed that Mr. Mitchel should not be dressed as a convict, but that the clothing should be given up (as it was) to the governor of Spike Island. On referring to Mrs. Mitchel, in the course of their conversation, Mr. Hitchins permitted him to write a private note to her, on the understanding that it was merely on private matters, which he promised to have delivered on his return to Dublin. Mr. Mitchel expressed himself, on Mr. Hitchins' leaving the vessel, as very grateful to that gentleman for his kindness.

MADAME CABET AND THE CHILDREN.—As a specimen of what is frequently passing in Paris we translate the following from Mr.